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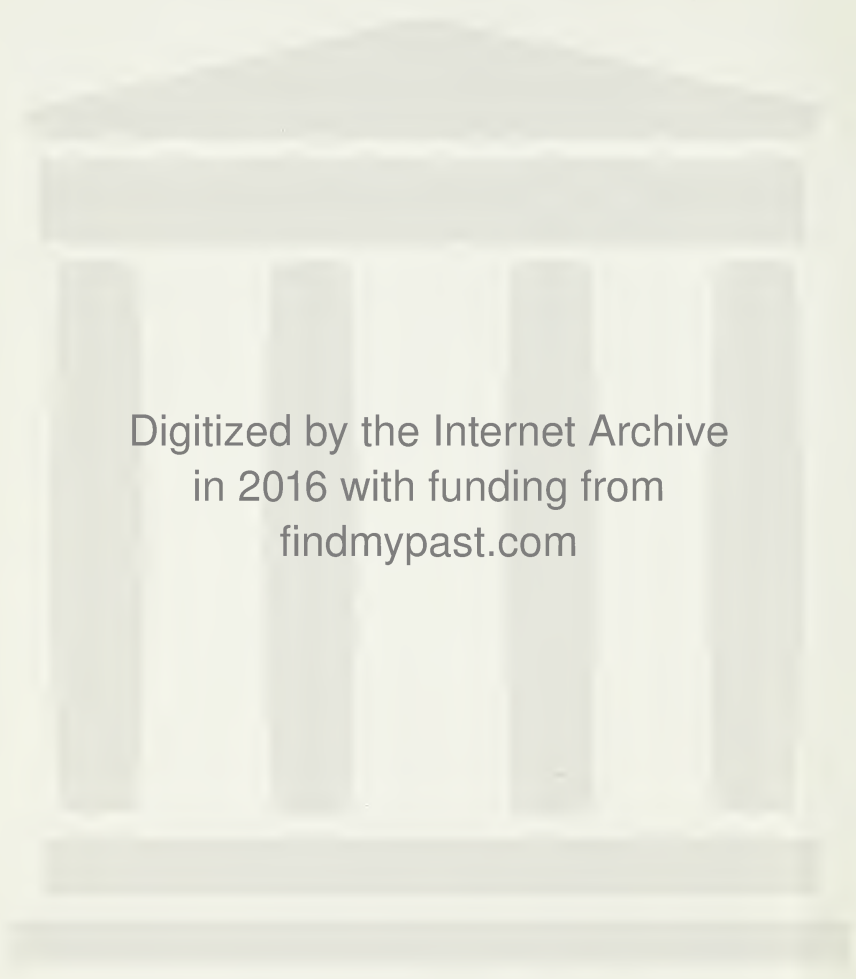
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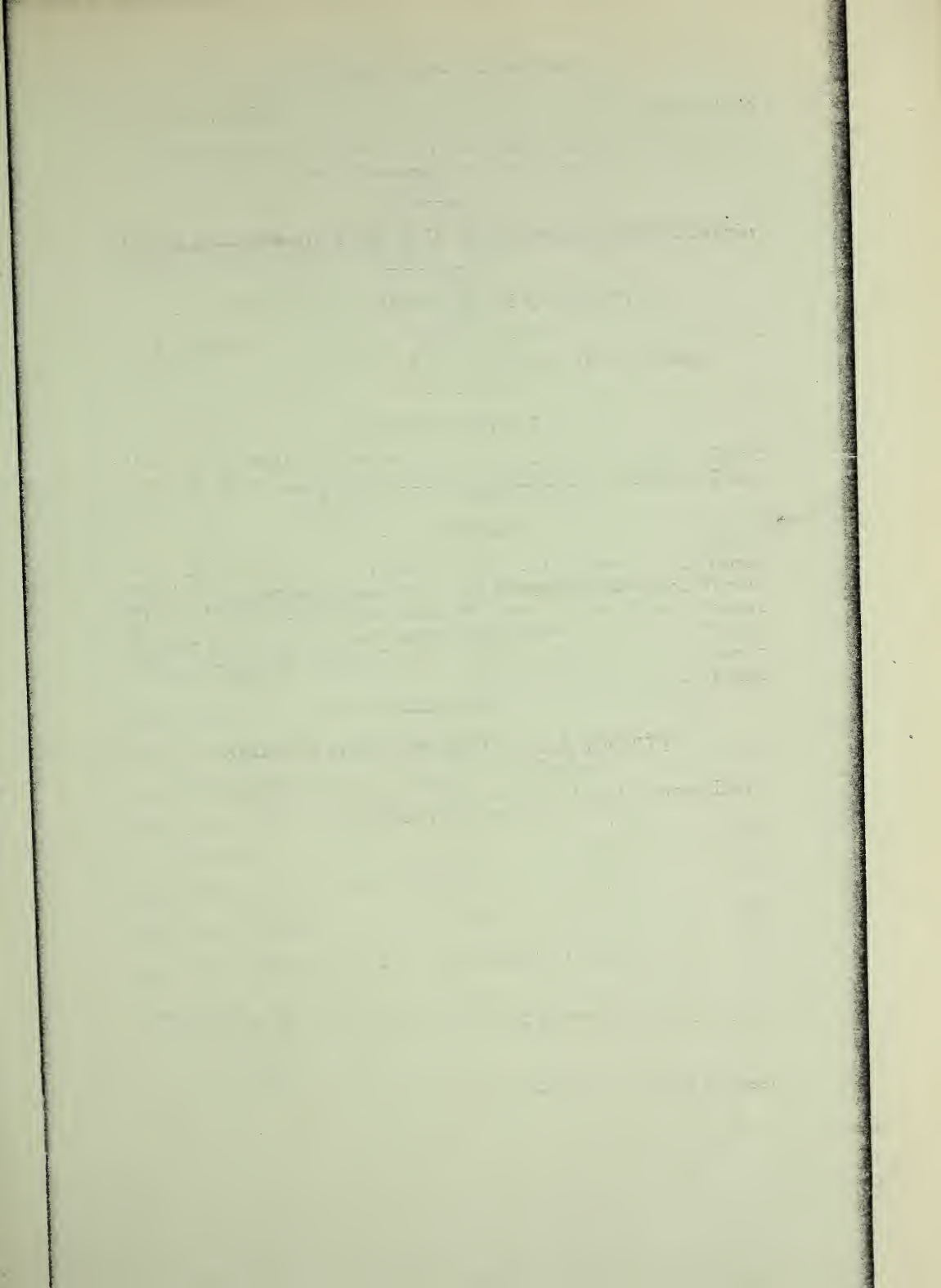
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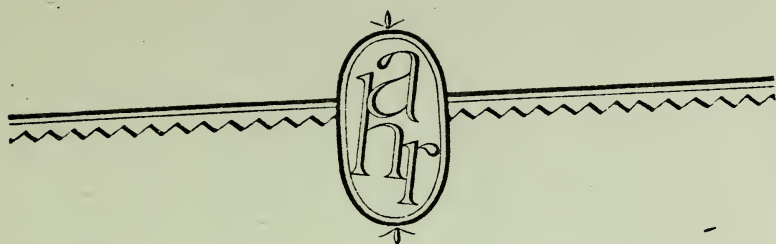
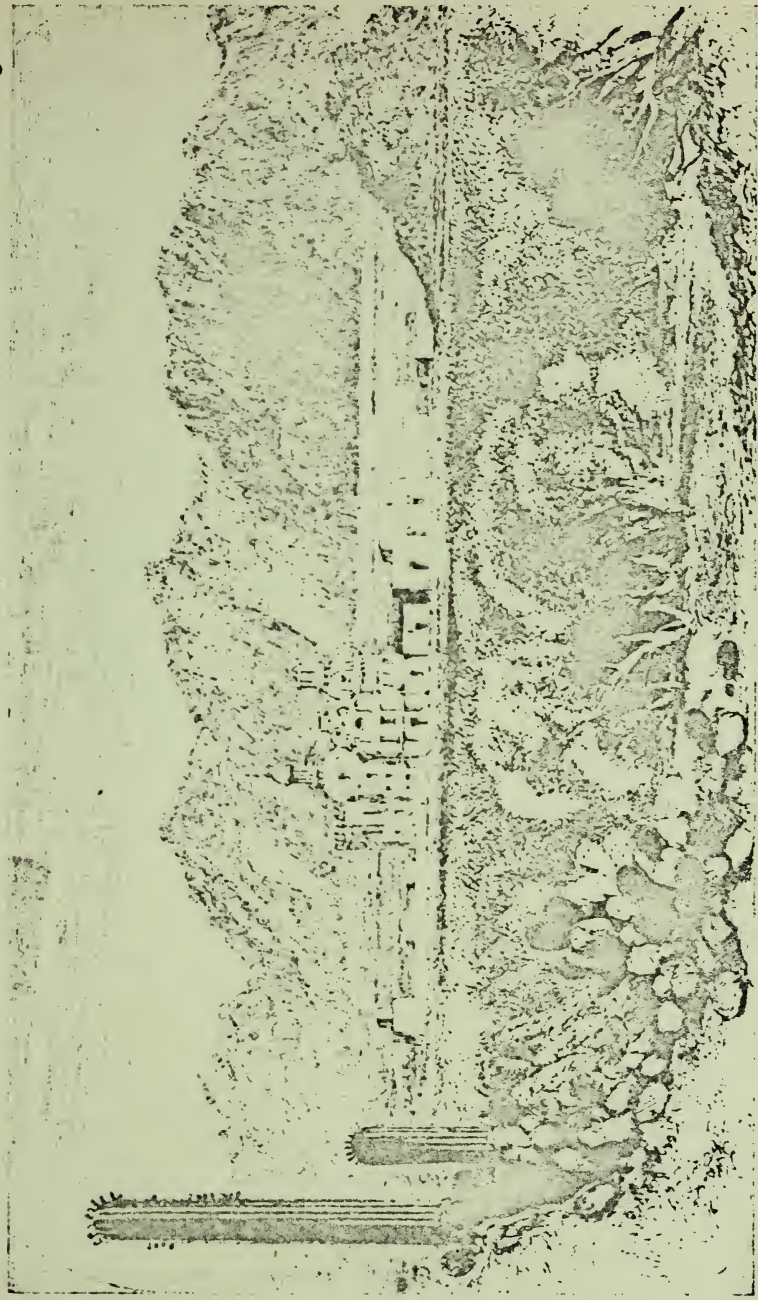


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Deserted Mission of San Xavier del Bac. Reproduced by permission of The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery from *Notes on an Overland Journey*—London, Richard Bentley, 1859—by Julius Froebel.



FATHER JACOBO SEDELMAYR, S. J.
A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER IN ARIZONA MISSIONARY
HISTORY

BY HAZEL EMERY MILLS

Between the two renowned figures of Arizona missionary history, Kino and Garcés, stands Jacobo Sedelmayr, who labored in Primería Alta from 1736 to 1754. Although Sedelmayr did not equal the achievements of either Kino or Garcés, still he does not deserve the obscurity into which he has fallen. A German Jesuit, he was earnest, enterprising, and ambitious. He tried to carry on the work of his famous predecessor and helped lay the foundations for the activities of the great padre who was to come after him. Had he been more actively aided and encouraged, the mission frontier might in his time have been pushed to the Gila and Colorado rivers. But Sedelmayr was prevented by adverse circumstances from realizing his plans and ideas; his work was to preserve and to pass on to others the task of advancing the frontier.

Jacob Sedelmayr was born in Freising, Bavaria, on January 12, 1703. Little is known of his early life except that he entered the Jesuit order at the age of nineteen. Then in 1735 came the call to go as a missionary to New Spain.¹ After a year of tedious travel from Bavaria to Genoa, from Genoa to Cádiz, and from Cádiz to Vera Cruz, Sedelmayr finally arrived in Mexico City sometime in February or March of 1736. If his training had been complete, he would have been sent immediately to the missions of Lower California. However, he had not yet taken his third examination, so the next two months were spent in study at the Jesuit college, San Pedro y San Pablo, in Mexico City. While there he journeyed to Puebla to see Bishop Crespo. Learning from him that the Germans had a high reputation as missionaries in New Spain, Sedelmayr

¹ Robert Streit, *Amerikanische Missions-literatur, 1700-1909* (Aachen, 1927), p. 140.



expressed the fear that he would not be able to live up to what was expected of him. Therefore when he received his appointment to the missions of the Pimas on May 6, 1736, he gave thanks that he had been chosen to go to a place where work was hard but where results could be achieved.²

Father Jacobo soon bade farewell to Mexico City to begin an arduous journey of fifteen hundred miles. After traveling for two and a half months he at last arrived in Pimería Alta. Here he found himself at a frontier of Spanish advance, which probably seemed to him to be at the ends of the earth. He must have stopped for instructions at San Ignacio, then the head mission of the province, and met Father Stiger, who had just come there after serving for three years at San Xavier. From him Sedelmayr undoubtedly learned of the decayed state of the missions of Pimería Alta caused by the lack of sufficient missionaries. Apparently the only other Father in the province at this time was Ignacio Keller, who was stationed at Santa María Suamca on the Santa Cruz River, not far below the present international boundary.

The decline of the once prosperous missions of Pimería Alta began soon after the death of Father Kino in 1711, for there were no young, active men to continue the strenuous frontier mission work. Until 1720 Father Campos at San Ignacio and Father Velarde at Dolores, two old veterans who had worked with Kino, labored alone to maintain the missions. Finally Father Gallardi arrived in 1720 to take charge of Tubutama and Caborca, but the northern missions of Santa María Suamca, Guevavi, and San Xavier still remained sadly neglected. It was not until 1732 that three new missionaries came to the province: Father Keller to Suamca, Father Grashoffer to Guevavi, and Father Segesser to San Xavier. Resident priests then administered seven of the missions, but Fathers Velarde, Grashoffer, and Gallardi soon died, and in 1733 Father Segesser became ill and had to be replaced by Father Stiger. Three years later

² Jacobo Sedelmayr, Letter to Father Magno Amman, written from Mexico City, May 10, 1736. MS.



Father Campos died after serving forty-three years in Pimería, and Stiger was forced to leave San Xavier to take over the head mission of San Ignacio.³ Thus when Sedelmayr arrived in Pimería in 1736 he found much work to be done if the missions were to be brought back to their former strength and if the explorations and conversions to the north and west, which Kino had begun, were to be continued.

From San Ignacio, Sedelmayr journeyed to San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama, now placed under his care, and found the mission and its nine villages in a state of decay. He spent the first year in converting the Indians who still lived in the villages and those in the vicinity who had been baptized but had progressed no further in Christianity. The latter gave the Father much trouble, for they persisted in the practices of sorcery and polygamy. Unfortunately Sedelmayr incurred the hatred of the medicine men by reprimanding them for witchcraft, and they soon tried to kill him by shooting poisoned arrows through the windows of his house at night. As Sedelmayr remarked in a later letter, he was often in visible danger of losing his temporal life while teaching the Indians of the eternal one.⁴

In spite of this opposition, however, Father Jacobo made considerable progress in his missionary work. He improved the condition of the five hundred inhabitants he found in the villages and converted other Indians and persuaded them to live in the towns. He built new houses for the Indians in all the nine villages and in several erected new churches, the largest of which was built at Tubutama. As a part of his work during the first year, Sedelmayr traveled two hundred and fifty miles through the Pápago *rancherías* to the north of his mission. The Indians seemed glad to receive him, and he preached and baptized everywhere,

³ The main references used for the history of Pimería Alta during this period were José de Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús*; P. Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva-España*; Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California*; and H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, I.

⁴ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer. Geschrieben zu México, dem 22. Märzens, 1746. MS.



sometimes both day and night.⁵ As a result of the Father's zeal Tubutama prospered so greatly that in 1746 it became the head mission of Pimería.

Meanwhile other matters were also occupying the mind of Father Sedelmayr. Ever since he had come to Pimería Alta, he had felt an overwhelming desire to discover new lands and peoples to the north.⁶ During the first years of his work, fevers and other sicknesses as well as the numerous duties of his mission had kept him from active exploration. This ambition to travel to the north was stimulated in 1742 by a Royal Cédula from King Philip V charging the Jesuits of New Spain with the reduction of the Moqui or Hopi Indians, who had never been subdued since the revolt of 1680.

Nevertheless it was Father Keller, another tireless worker and explorer, rather than Sedelmayr who was first appointed to undertake the journey to the Moqui. Keller's mission of Santa María Suamca included the Sobaipuri rancherías on the San Pedro and since 1733 the missions of San Xavier and Guevavi and the Indian villages on the Santa Cruz. In 1736 he had journeyed down the Santa Cruz to the Casa Grande and the Gila rivers. During July and August of the next year he had followed the San Pedro River to the Gila, finding most of the Sobaipuri rancherías deserted because of the continuous Apache depredations.⁷ It was because of these trips on which he had befriended the enemies of the Apaches that Keller was selected to attempt the opening of a road to the Moquis.

In September, 1743, Father Keller eagerly began the assigned journey in spite of the handicap of an inadequate escort of nine soldiers. The expedition traveled down the Santa Cruz to the Gila River, crossed it, and continued for a few days in the direction of the Moqui pueblos. Finally some rancherías of an unknown people, probably Apaches, were reached. These Indians, bent upon robbery, attacked the Father and his party at night. The soldiers fought to

⁵ José de Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesús*, 339-340.

⁶ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.

⁷ Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 348-349.



protect the equipment of the expedition, but saved barely enough horses and supplies to enable them to return to Suamca, and one of the men received a fatal wound during the skirmish. Father Keller, greatly disappointed by his failure, offered to go again in 1744, but he was refused an escort by a Spanish official.⁸

Father Sedelmayr was now appointed to undertake the trip since he was least exposed to the Apaches. Also, during the year 1743, having recovered from his illnesses, Father Jacobo had acquainted himself with the Pápago lands by two expeditions into the desert. The first journey was taken in September of that year to Sonóita where Sedelmayr and Father José Torres, who was stationed at Caborca, converted and baptized some Indians. On the second trip, begun at the end of November, Pápago Indians guided Sedelmayr northwest from Tubutama across the Papague-ría to the Gila River. He traveled through all the Cocomaricopa rancherías on the Gila, presenting ribbons, knives, and other gifts to the Indians, who seemed delighted to see him. From these settlements he went up the river to its junction with the Salt and then still farther up to three large Pima villages.⁹ From there the Father probably returned to his mission by the way of the Santa Cruz valley. He now knew the country as far as the Gila and was prepared for exploration to the north.

With his preparations completed and instructions to exercise caution received, Father Sedelmayr left Tubutama for the Moqui in October, 1744. Evidently he traveled through the Papague-ría to a point opposite San Xavier and then cut over to the Santa Cruz valley. On this occasion he visited the Casa Grande and preached there to the Indians against witchcraft. From the ruin Sedelmayr continued to the Gila. He crossed the river and visited in turn the three large Pima villages of Tuquisan, Tusonimo, and Sudacson.¹⁰ In the latter village he found a relic of

⁸ *Ibid.*, 350-351.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 352-354.

¹⁰ The account of Sedelmayr's journey in 1744 is found in his "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 843-859.



the visits of Kino, an old worn ax, which the Indians treasured as their only iron tool and used in turn for cutting wood.¹¹

Since the direct road to the Moqui led from these villages to the north, Sedelmayr was anxious to procure Pimas to serve as guides. At first the Indians told him that the road was good and they would show him the way, but the next day they absolutely refused to aid the Father. Disappointed, he went on down the river on the north side to the junction of the Gila and the Salt. From here he traveled along the great bend of the Gila, noting everything carefully. Twelve leagues beyond the junction of the rivers, he arrived at Stue Cabitic, the first ranchería of the Cocomaricopas. Sedelmayr now tried to prevail upon the Cocomaricopas to guide him to the Moqui, but they also agreed and then refused, although they did offer to tell the Moquis when they came to trade of his desire to visit them.¹²

Again disappointed in his plans Father Sedelmayr continued down the river and visited all the Cocomaricopa villages, of which he names forty-one. At the end of these settlements he found a spring of warm water, the present Agua Caliente. Here Sedelmayr left the Gila behind him, and apparently traveling in a northwesterly direction took an Indian trail leading to the Colorado River. He later wrote that after journeying forty leagues (about one hundred miles) he arrived at the Colorado River near where it joins a blue river not far from the boundaries of the Moqui province.¹³ The Río Azul which he mentions must have been the Bill Williams Fork of today. This was farther north than Father Kino had ever been, and between the time of Oñate and Garcés, no other explorer is known to have penetrated that far north and west from New Spain. Sedelmayr, ambitious to discover new lands, thought that

¹¹ Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 355.

¹² Sedelmayr, "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 849.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*



no Spaniard or European missionary before him had seen this country.¹⁴

The Indians Sedelmayr found living on both banks of the Colorado were called by him the Cocomaricopas of the Colorado because they communicated with the Cocomaricopas on the Gila. They came in great numbers to inspect the Father and his escort and did not seem frightened at seeing strange people. In fact they even voluntarily brought watermelons, muskmelons, squash, beans, and maize for the party. From these friendly people Sedelmayr gathered information about the Moqui but was unable to go to their lands because of his lack of guides, messengers, and escort, and the sickness of three of the Indians with him. On his return trip he probably descended the Colorado to its junction with the Gila and from there traveled along the south bank of the Gila to the Cocomaricopa villages and then southeast through the Papaguería to Tubutama.¹⁵

Father Sedelmayr on his journey recognized a great need for the conversion of the Indians on the Gila and Colorado rivers and the establishment of missions among them. The King in his Cédula of 1742 had recommended that two Fathers be stationed at each mission of Pimería Alta, one to attend to the mission duties and the other to explore, convert the outlying Indians, and perhaps found new missions.¹⁶ But nothing had been done, so Sedelmayr determined to visit Mexico City in an attempt to procure aid and more missionaries. His superiors also wished him to go since he knew more of the Gila and Colorado River country than anyone else at that time.

Preparations for the long journey were accordingly made, and Father Sedelmayr, accompanied by four Indians, departed from Tubutama. The fifteen hundred miles were covered in two months, the small party arriving at Mexico City in February, 1746. Upon visiting Father Provincial

¹⁴ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.

¹⁵ Sedelmayr is not definite about the return route, but he does mention traveling twenty leagues along the bank of the Colorado River.

¹⁶ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.



Escóbar, Sedelmayr found him writing a report on Pimería Alta and California which had been called for by the King. The Father Provincial requested that the wandering Jesuit write a description of his explorations to be included in the report. Father Jacobo in the resulting account described the Gila and Colorado rivers, the Casa Grande ruins, and the customs and habits of the various Indian nations he had visited. He recommended the founding of missions at the Casa Grande and among the Pimas and Cocomaricopas on the Gila as well as the Cocomaricopas on the Colorado. He also thought it would be well to place a presidio on the Gila somewhere to the east of the Casa Grande to check the Apaches. Then he enumerated the advantages of the conquest and occupation of the Gila and Colorado rivers. These would be the opening of the way to the Moqui; the extension of the frontier to the Colorado River, thereby keeping out other European nations; the prevention of Apache invasions; the opportunity of giving aid with supplies to the Fathers of Baja California, thus enabling them to extend their conversions to the north; and the determination of whether or not mines of gold, silver, copper, and mercury might be found in the vicinity of these rivers.¹⁷ By these recommendations and suggested benefits, Sedelmayr proved that he had a broad view of the whole situation. He realized the importance of making the Gila and Colorado rivers the frontier and understood the political, military, and commercial as well as religious advantages to be obtained.

While in Mexico City Sedelmayr asked the Father Provincial for ten new Fathers to assist the overworked priests of his province. The Provincial showed him, however, that in New Spain there were not enough workers to maintain the old missions, let alone to found new ones. But he told Sedelmayr that he had written to Rome for permission to secularize certain old missions in order to employ the priests in new fields, and he encouraged the Father to continue his journeys of exploration. Sedelmayr also obtained an audience with the Viceroy, who embarrassed the

¹⁷ Sedelmayr, "Relación," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 853-859.



Father by praising him before the entire court and urging him, in the name of the King, to continue his work. The Viceroy also promised his support and protection in the future and gave Father Jacobo considerable money with which to buy knives, fishhooks, hose, and other European novelties to give to the Indians.¹⁸ Thus, although failing to obtain the workers and the new missions he desired, Sedelmayr received encouragement from both the secular and religious authorities. He began his return to Tubutama the last of March full of hope for the future.

When Father Sedelmayr arrived at his mission, he found that his superiors wished him to follow the Colorado River to its mouth in order to determine whether California was an island or a peninsula. Sedelmayr was to settle this question once and for all, in spite of the fact that Kino had proved California to be a peninsula. If he discovered that California was not an island, he was to build boats at Caborca in preparation for an investigation of the coast. This plan, however, did not materialize, for all the soldiers in the province were needed to fight the Apaches and the Seris.¹⁹ Moreover, by the year 1747, Sedelmayr knew definitely that California was a peninsula, for Father Consag of Lower California had completed his explorations to the north and had made a map showing that California was joined to the mainland.²⁰ Nevertheless, the coast of Pimería Alta to the north still remained to be explored.

Prevented from making another journey to the Colorado by the lack of an escort, Father Sedelmayr in 1747 traveled to Caborca and from there to the Gulf of California. Journeying north up the coast, he examined the country in search of a harbor capable of receiving ships from California and a place suitable for the establishment of a pueblo. He met with no success, however, and the only accomplishment of this trip was the bringing back to his mission of

¹⁸ Sedelmayr, Brief an R. P. Antonium Kramer, 1746. MS.

¹⁹ José Gallardo, "Instrucciones," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 907.

²⁰ Sedelmayr, "Carta escrita del Padre Jacobo Sedelmayr al Reverendo Rector José de Echeverría," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 841-842.



about two hundred and fifty Indians from a settlement on the coast.

Finally Father Sedelmayr obtained an escort of fifteen soldiers and with them left from Tubutama on the thirteenth of October, 1748. They traveled northwest across the Papaguería, arriving in eleven days at the Cocomaricopa ranchería of San Felipe de Uparch at the western end of the great bend of the Gila. Here Sedelmayr preached to the Indians on the subject of polygamy. It seems, however, that they did not practice it, for they laughed at the idea, telling the Father that sometimes they did not even marry one wife. From San Felipe the party descended the Gila, going through other Cocomaricopa villages and past the painted rocks to the warm spring of water from which Sedelmayr in 1744 had left the Gila to go northwest to the Colorado. He now named the place Santa María del Agua Caliente and recommended the founding of a presidio there.

From this point on, the Father and his escort were without guides, for the Cocomaricopas were enemies of the Yumas and would not go to their lands. Sedelmayr, in spite of the advice of the Cocomaricopas not to do so, determined to descend the river by the northern plain, since he had never been that way. Crossing the barren, uninhabited territory separating the Cocomaricopa and Yuma nations, the party arrived in three days at a Yuma settlement in the plain of the Colorado about two leagues above the junction of the rivers. The Indians gathered, curious to examine the horses and the equipment of the soldiers. The Father talked to them, explaining that the soldiers came only to protect him and not to harm them. Although the Yumas listened to him and brought the party firewood and water, signal fires flashed that night all along the river.

The next day Sedelmayr obtained a Yuma guide and began the trip to the mouth of the Colorado, said by the Indians to be a two days' journey. The expedition crossed the Gila River and soon reached the junction after passing through several villages. From here they journeyed eleven leagues down the Colorado through still more settlements, finally reaching the last Yuma ranchería. That night the crowd of Yumas following the party became so menacing



that the Father and soldiers felt alarmed. Because of the attitude of the Indians, the thirst of the horses, and the illness of two of the soldiers, Sedelmayr decided to turn back. He wished to wait to explore the Gulf and mouth of the Colorado until a time when he could use Sonóita as a base and have a larger escort.²¹

Father Sedelmayr planned another trip to be undertaken in September, 1749, and asked for twenty-six soldiers to accompany him. However, war against the Apaches and the Seris once more prevented their being granted to him. He then wrote his superiors asking if he might journey to the north, cross the Río Azul, which he had reached in 1744, explore the Colorado River, and send a message to the Moqui. The superiors, it seems, did not approve of the proposed journey, since the Franciscans now had charge of the Moqui and the Jesuits already had more than they could do in California and Pimería Alta.²²

It was not until November, 1750, that Sedelmayr was granted an escort large enough to enable him to begin a second attempt to explore the mouth of the Colorado River. From Tubutama he passed northwest to Sonóita. From there he apparently followed Kino's old trail across the Pápago country through El Carrizal, Aguaje de la Luna, and Tinajas Altas. Arriving at the junction of the Gila and Colorado, the party continued down the Colorado to the boundaries of the Quiquima nation. As the expedition proceeded on its way to the mouth of the river, the Quiquimas threatened an attack. The soldiers were forced to fight to protect themselves, and three of the Indians were killed. This skirmish ended Sedelmayr's hope of exploring the Gulf, which he says he could have reached that day. Although he disliked turning back, he decided to do so to prevent further trouble and arrived safely at the Yuma settlements.

²¹ The account of this journey made in 1748 is found in Sedelmayr's "Entrada á la nación de los Yumas gentiles," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iv, tom. i, 18-25.

²² Gallardo, "Instrucciones," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iii, tom. iv, 908.



A Yuma Indian offered to guide Father Sedelmayr across the sandy wastes toward Sonóita so he would not have to go to the Gila in order to return to his mission. Following this guide, the party found in the midst of the desert a spring of sweet water with enough pasturage for all the horses. This discovery pleased Sedelmayr, for it meant that the distance from Tubutama to the Colorado would be shortened on future trips. From this spring the Father was led to Kino's old trail, which he followed to Sonóita and then returned to Tubutama by the well-worn path through Caborca and Altar.²³

Conditions seemed bright in Pimería Alta in 1751. The missions were flourishing, and there was hope of further expansion to the north and west. In May, 1751, Sedelmayr reestablished Misión San Marcelo de Sonóita on the edge of the Papaguería to aid him in his future explorations of the Colorado and the Gulf. Father Henry Rhuen was placed in charge, the first and last priest to live at that outpost mission. At about the same time, Sáric, fifteen miles north of Tubutama, was reestablished, and Father Juan Nentwig was stationed there. These two missions were made possible by a bequest of the Marqués de Villa Puente, who died in Spain in 1739. In the province of Pimería Alta, therefore, eight missions were occupied in 1751. Sedelmayr, still at Tubutama, was Visitador Provincial. Father Keller and Father Stiger continued to labor at their missions of Suamca and San Ignacio, and Father Tomás Tello had just been installed at Caborca. The other two Fathers in Pimería were Francisco Paver at San Xavier and José Garrucho at Guevavi.²⁴

Soon this progress was to be checked. An Indian named Luís was becoming ambitious because he had been appointed captain of his people as a reward for aiding the Spanish against the Seris. He returned to Pimería with a plan to organize the Pimas and Pápagos, drive the Spaniards out of the country and rule the province himself. On the eve-

²³ The best account of this trip is found in Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 361-364.

²⁴ *Catalogus Personarum et Domiciliorum in quibus sub Societatis Jesu, Mexici*, 1751.

ning of November 20, 1751, a group of Spanish miners near Luís' native village of Sáric became alarmed because of the large gathering of Indians at the place. They went to Luís' house at nightfall to ask him what it all meant. The Indian invited his Spanish friends in and entertained them for a time. Then he left with the excuse that he had to go to talk to some of the Pápagos gathered at the settlement. Immediately afterward the house of the treacherous Luís was set on fire. The trapped Spaniards perished in the flames, the first victims of a bloody uprising. After killing all the other Spaniards they could find in the vicinity, the Indians went to the house of Father Nentwig. He, however, had been warned of his danger about fifteen minutes before and was fleeing as fast as he could toward Tubutama to join Father Sedelmayr.

After the Indians destroyed the church at Sáric, Luís led his people to Tubutama, fast on the heels of Nentwig. But the Father had already warned Sedelmayr, a few neighboring Spaniards, and two soldiers who happened to be at the mission. This handful of men defended themselves in the cemetery while the Indians assaulted them and burned Father Sedelmayr's new and finely decorated church as well as his new house. After a night and two days of fighting, the ammunition of the besieged men gave out. Two of the Spaniards had been killed and both the Fathers wounded. The only chance lay in escape under the cover of night. It was a case of every man for himself. Father Sedelmayr, who had been wounded on head and arm, came upon a friendly Indian on a horse. With this aid he escaped to Misión San Ignacio. The remaining Spaniards saved themselves also by flight, and Father Nentwig after wandering five days and nearly dying of thirst also reached San Ignacio, where both he and Sedelmayr recovered from their wounds. A great many neighboring Spaniards and soldiers had gathered there to defend the mission and themselves, but San Ignacio was not attacked.

The isolated missions of Caborca and Sonóita experienced the main fury of the uprising. At Caborca the Indians beat Father Tomás Tello to death with clubs. Soon afterward,



Father Henry Rhuen attained the crown of martyrdom at Sonóita after being subjected to torture. Several Spaniards at the latter mission were also killed and the church was destroyed.

The revolt even reached Guevavi and San Xavier in the north, although the damage was not so great. The priests at these missions fled on foot, taking refuge with Keller at Suamca, which was not attacked. It was here that an Indian sent out by Luís was discovered inciting the natives to revolt. The captain in charge of suppressing the uprising ordered the Indian put to death as a punishment and lesson for the others. This method of suppression was, however, not supported. Governor Parrilla wished to restore order by peaceful means. After three embassies had failed, the governor himself finally came, and largely because he was accompanied by many Spanish soldiers, the Indians received him peacefully. Parrilla told the Pimas that they could return to their villages if they would restore the churches and repair the other damage. The Indians, however, after the governor and his troops had departed, refused to fulfill their part of the agreement.²⁵

A bitter quarrel ensued between Governor Parrilla and the Jesuits. Father Keller wrote that Parrilla was entirely responsible. He had granted Luís his honors and had made military blunders in suppressing the uprising. The governor on his side charged that the Jesuits had caused the revolt by their cruel treatment of the natives and had Keller sent to Mexico City while the investigations in Pimería were being made. In 1754 Sedelmayr entered the dispute by emphatically denying the charges of cruelty and mistreatment placed against him.²⁶ Soon the Jesuit side of the case was presented to the Viceroy and after five or six years the Fathers were exonerated.

The province was long in recovering from the shock of the uprising. The last years of the Jesuits in Pimería Alta

²⁵ Good descriptions of the Pima revolt are found in Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva-España*, III, 289-293, and Ortega, *Apostólicos Afanes*, 448-451.

²⁶ Sedelmayr, "Respuesta," *Documentos para la Historia de México*, ser. iv., tom. i, 76-83.

were not prosperous ones, although, in spite of the lack of support from the civil government, they continued to administer the missions of San Xavier, Guevavi, Suamca, Sáric, Tubutama, Caborca, and San Ignacio. The work of Father Sedelmayr and his fellow priests was not to be destroyed. They had built so well on the foundations laid down by Kino that their structure weathered the storm to serve as a basis for a great future advance, the occupation of Upper California.

After the Pima revolt little is known of the life and activity of Father Sedelmayr. He was still in Pimería Alta in 1754, for he wrote from Guevavi defending himself against his accusers. A letter he sent to Father Keller after the Pima revolt seems to indicate that he made still another journey to the Gila and Colorado rivers.²⁷ He must have realized by this time, however, that his work on the frontier was over. In the letter to Keller he states that he now considered it impossible to establish new missions to the north because of the great distance from Mexico City, the bad roads, the effect of the Pima revolt, and the expense of the heavy guard needed on account of the Apaches.

Sometime after 1754 Sedelmayr was transferred to the province of Sonora, for in 1762 he was stationed at the mission of Tecoripa.²⁸ Two years later he became a professor at the College of Mátape on the Yaqui River. Then suddenly without warning on June 25, 1767, came the order for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico. During August and September the padres of Pimería Alta and Sonora were taken from their missions, where some of them had labored so long that they had come to regard them as their homes. The unfortunate souls were sent to Guaymas, where they suffered for nine months, living in wretched quarters. Then came the voyage of forty-eight days, which usually only took about six, to Mantachel, and after that a long march to Vera Cruz. Thirty of the fifty-six Fathers gathered from the northern provinces of

²⁷ Sedelmayr, Carta de Padre Sedelmayr al Padre Keler. MS.

²⁸ *Rudo Ensayo*, ed. by Buckingham Smith, 206.

Sonora, Sinaloa, and Pimería survived the trip to Vera Cruz and the voyage across the Atlantic.²⁹ Father Sedelmayr was one of those who finally landed in Spain. He found refuge there and died at the age of seventy-six in Aldea de Ávila, Spain, on February 12, 1779.³⁰

²⁹ Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 575-578.

³⁰ Streit, *Amerikanische Missiono-literatur*, 1700-1909, 140.



ARIZONA'S ADMINISTRATIVE GOVERNMENT

BY WALDO E. WALTZ

Carl Schurz once said: "If Gabriel draws up your charter and Lucifer administers it, your government will be bad. If Lucifer draws up your charter and Gabriel is called upon to administer it, your government will be good." I venture to add a corollary to this striking statement. It is: "If Gabriel draws up your charter and Lucifer administers it, your government will be better than if Lucifer also draws up your charter."

In other words, Pope's couplet, slightly paraphrased—"For forms of government let fools contest. That government is best which governs best"—is not entirely correct. Form of government is not always decisive as respects either good or bad administrative government, but it is important.¹

George O. Fairweather of Chicago in the preface to his recent study: *Wanted: Intelligent Local Self Government*, remarked that he should like to dedicate his study to the free, independent, effective Chicago citizens. "But," he said, "It can't be done; there aren't any."

A suggestion, timely and appropriate, is that whether we are free, independent, effective Arizona citizens depends on us; on whether we assert our powers of intelligence and knowledge, bringing them to bear on governmental problems.

A discussion of public administration in Arizona may well begin with an orientation to the concept of administration as differentiated from other governmental functions. Attention to a well-known five-fold classification of govern-

¹ For the importance of administrative organization, see J. M. Pfiffner, *Public Administration* (New York, 1935), pp. 25-49; L. D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* (New York, 1926), pp. 103-163, 190-205; W. F. Willoughby, *Principles of Public Administration* (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 52-118, 143-149; A. E. Buck, *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments* (4th ed., New York, 1928, 5th ed., 1930), pp. 1-42.

mental functions is helpful. According to Professor Willoughby,² governmental functions are usefully classified as: (1) legislative, exercised by the legislative or deliberative bodies in the determination of policy; (2) judicial, exercised by the courts in the interpretation of policy; (3) electoral, utilized by the electorate or the voters, and is partially legislative in nature (as seen in the use of the initiative and referendum), and partially executive, exercised through the power to elect to public office, and to remove by the recall; (4) executive, exercised by the chief executive in the supervision and direction of the enforcement or execution of determined policy; (5) administrative, exercised by the body of public servants in the actual day-to-day carrying out of the government's determined policy in the various fields of state endeavor.

Now it is this latter function, in which we are interested in this discussion—that of administration or the carrying out from day-to-day of the state's functions in the fields of: finance, charities, corrections, education, health regulation and services, highway building and maintenance, preservation and development of natural resources, regulation and aid relative to corporate enterprise, including utilities, banking, insurance and other businesses, aid to and regulation of labor and labor problems, regulation and standardization of the professional pursuits, and law enforcement.³

Recall Pope's couplet: "For forms of government let fools contest." Form of government may not always be decisive, but it is important. Since experience and authoritative testimony demonstrate the importance of the state's administrative organization or machinery, we may feel justified in spending a few minutes in a consideration of: (1) Arizona's present administrative organization; (2) problems apparent in Arizona's administrative organization; (3) attempts in Arizona to reorganize the administrative

² W. F. Willoughby, *An Introduction to the Study of the Government of Modern States* (The Century Co., 1919), pp. 231-232; Willoughby, *Principles of Public Administration* (Baltimore, 1927), pp. 9-51.

³ These functions are the most important work of a state's administrative organization.

organization; (4) some results of administrative reorganization in other states; (5) underlying principles in administrative reorganization programs as exemplified in some twenty states. And the impetus directing attention to such problems may be denoted as the desire on the part of the citizen and taxpayer for efficiency and economy in public administrative effort. An era of steadily diminishing revenue accompanied by increasing demands upon state administrative agencies continues to be a cause of concern both to those directly responsible for the performance of state administrative functions, and to those who pay the bills and receive the services.

Arizona's present administrative organization may correctly be characterized as the decentralized type, meaning that it is made up of numerous distinct and independent agencies, which attempt to function in a nonintegrated manner; in some cases becoming independent kingdoms within their own right. In fact, taking account of both constitutional and statutory administrative agencies, Arizona seems to have about eighty distinct ones. These agencies are denoted as boards, commissions, offices, commissioners, superintendents, and the like. They may be classified on the basis of whether plural- or single-headed as: (1) boards and commissions; and (2) officers and commissioners.⁴ About forty-five are of the plural-headed or board and commission type, and about thirty-four are single-headed or of the officer and commissioner type.

On the basis of manner of supplying the chief personnel of these agencies, there are four classes of administrative agencies⁵ as follows: (1) the ex-officio type; (2) the agency whose personnel (that is, the chief personnel) is appointed by the governor alone; (3) the agency the personnel of which is selected by the governor subject to confirmation by the senate; and (4) the agency filled by election by the qualified voters.

⁴ *Report of the Advisory Committee on Reorganization of State and Local Government in Arizona* (Jan., 1935), pp. 2-3. MS in University of Arizona Library.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

About eleven of these agencies are of the ex-officio type; that is, are constituted of officials, who, by virtue of holding other state administrative office, take membership on these agencies. Examples of the ex-officio agency are the Board of Health and the State Land Commission. About twenty-nine agencies receive their personnel by virtue of appointment by the governor alone; while about thirteen agencies are filled by the governor and the senate acting in conjunction. Nine agencies of administration are filled by the electorate at the polls.

It is to be noted especially that the boards and commissions consist of from three to eight members, usually appointed by the governor either with or without the consent of the senate for overlapping terms varying from two to eight years.

Viewed historically, Arizona's administrative organization shows a trend toward ever-increasing agencies, created opportunistically in answer to demands resulting from the state's developing conditions and the insistence of various interests.⁶ Originally, eleven administrative agencies were provided by the constitution, but beginning with the First Arizona State Legislature, additional ones have been created. By 1921, nine years after admission as a state, fifty-two distinct offices and agencies were in existence. In December, 1934, after thirteen years more, about eighty administrative agencies existed. Thus the trend to increase the total has persisted. Governor Campbell remarked in 1921: "Little thought evidently was given, at the time of their creation, as to the effect their individual operation might have upon the state government as a whole."⁷ Governor Moeur, addressing the Twelfth Arizona Legislature said: "Experience of the past two years has brought to me forcibly a realization of the need for a survey of governmental functions with a view to consolidation of departments and elimination of much duplication of effort."

⁶ "Special Message of Governor Campbell of Feb. 7, 1921, to Fifth Arizona State Legislature, Special Session," Thomas E. Campbell, *Messages Biennial, Veto and Special* (Jan. 11, 1921 to Mar. 22, 1921), pp. 23-29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Considering personnel of these agencies, it is apparent that several hundred persons constituting the state's administrative forces are employed. What semblance of a merit system has been provided by which to recruit, examine, appoint, transfer, promote, compensate, and retire the state's public administrative servants? No rules pertaining to a merit system of civil service appear on the statute books. On the contrary, an examination of budgets and audits and an ear to the ground indicate that reasons foreign to a merit system of classified service dominate the field.⁸

PROBLEMS APPARENT IN ARIZONA'S ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

What specific defects are apparent in these agencies when fitted into a unified pattern of administrative organization?⁹ In the first place, they are nearly all independent of one another and in many cases they are subject to no direct and effective control by the governor. It is true that while the governor has in a number of instances the power of appointment and removal, many of the more important appointments are made with the approval of the senate; while in many important instances, the filling of the agency is entirely removed from him. In nearly every case of appointment in which the governor has a part the officers appointed serve for longer terms than that of the governor.

Secondly, not only are the administrative offices and agencies widely scattered, but the main functions of the government are not co-ordinated. Little or no successful attempt has been made to departmentalize the work of the government. Though the governor is considered the "chief executive" under the constitution, a term which implies full power and authority to control the administrative organization, he is in reality far from possessing such power and authority. By law the governor has fixed upon him the responsibility for budget making and for carrying out the state's financial plan. Unified financial planning with a

⁸ *Report of the Arizona Advisory Committee on Reorganization of State and Local Government in Arizona*, p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

great number of independent and scattered administrative agencies is impossible; and even if it were possible, the governor is in no position to carry out the budget plan since he cannot control the organization with which he must do the work.

Third, it is apparent that an authoritative survey of Arizona's administrative government would be extremely useful, and would give answers to some of the following questions: (1) Is the state budget not working because of: (a) inertia of state officers, (b) shifting of responsibility in budget planning, (c) political squabbles and deadlocks, (d) obsolete machinery of government and antiquated methods? (2) Are state officials in many cases disregarding the budget process or performing it in a perfunctory manner? (3) Is "passing the buck" being practised?

Fourth, it is suggested that a thorough survey would portray practices relative to the recruitment, retention, and retirement of the state's administrative servants. Some of the following questions are pertinent: (1) Are there present practices relative to recruitment and dismissal which are detrimental to the morale of the public servant, which reflect themselves adversely in the service and work of the public servant? (2) Does the failure to classify the public service positions result in inequitable conditions relative to: (a) amount of work required, (b) pay received, (c) responsibility entailed? (3) To what extent does the present system produce jealousies and non-co-operation within the family of public servants?

ATTEMPTS IN ARIZONA TO REORGANIZE THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

Certain notable attempts to reorganize Arizona's administrative machine have been made, beginning in 1921. In his biennial message to the 1921 Arizona State Legislature, Governor Campbell recommended administrative consolidation.¹⁰ He then secured A. E. Buck, a staff member of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, to prepare

¹⁰ Governor Campbell's Special Message to Fifth Arizona State Legislature, February 7, 1921, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

an administrative reorganization plan for the state. On February 7 he submitted his plan to the legislature, accompanied by a special message urging its adoption. This plan proposed to consolidate almost forty statutory administrative agencies into eight departments,¹¹ as follows: (1) Military Affairs, (2) Finance, (3) Agriculture, (4) Public Welfare, (5) Public Works and Buildings, (6) Reclamation and Irrigation, (7) Education and Registration, and (8) Labor and Industry. These departments were to be administered by single heads appointed by the governor and serving at his pleasure. A bill embodying the plan was passed by the senate, but House Bill 163 embodying the same plan apparently died on the calendar of the Committee of the Whole House after being favorably reported out from the committee to which it was referred.¹² It has been said that the plan lacked but a single vote of passing the legislature.

During the 1927 session of the legislature, Elijah Allen, a member of the house, introduced a bill (House Bill No. 23) to provide for the reorganization of the state administration. This bill was practically identical with the one introduced in 1921. This time it received favorable action in the house, but was defeated in the senate.

In the Tenth Legislature (1931) Senator Pomeroy and others were instrumental in the sponsorship of a plan for administrative consolidation. Following the report of a legislative investigating committee, a plan for nine appointive and two elective departments was introduced in the Eleventh Legislature (1933).¹³ In this plan nine depart-

¹¹ The plan was introduced in the senate as Senate Bill No. 125, in the house as House Bill No. 163. See "Journals of the Fifth State Legislature of Arizona, 1921." The plan itself may be found in *Messages Biennial, Veto and Special* by Thomas E. Campbell, Governor of Arizona, pp. 29-45.

¹² An examination of the Journals of the Fifth State Legislature of Arizona, 1921, reveals that the Committee of the Whole House failed to cast a vote of record on the measure. However, A. E. Buck in his *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments* (4th ed., 1928) states that the Arizona senate passed the plan, but it was defeated in the house by a single vote.

¹³ Senate Bill No. 45, *State Senate, Eleventh Legislature, Regular Session*. The bill was introduced by Mr. Kelly, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Collins.

ments were proposed as follows: (1) Health and Welfare, (2) Executive, (3) Finance, (4) Husbandry, (5) Conservation, (6) Public Works, (7) Corporations, (8) Industrial Relations, and (9) Public Utilities. The two elective departments were: (1) Law and (2) Education. It was similar to the earlier plans in that departmentalization was provided with single-headed control, appointment being vested in the governor, except for the two elective departments. This additional observation needs to be made, however, the proposal planned to consolidate certain of the constitutional agencies, which would have required a constitutional amendment to make it effective in entirety. This measure failed of legislative enactment.

Among the objections raised against such plans in Arizona are the following: (1) the plan is too revolutionary; (2) it will create too many appointive offices; (3) it promises to lay the foundation for building a political machine; (4) it will be more expensive to maintain.¹⁴ These objections, in view of the experiences of states where such plans have been in operation for several years, seem to beg the question for the most part. In relation to these attempts at administrative reorganization, there is evidence that they were accompanied by a lack of sufficient favorable publicity; that there was a lack of sufficient favorable public opinion to lend sufficient push.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION MOVEMENT IN OTHER STATES

Are these ideas entirely new and foreign to state administrative government? Note first, that the Federal government at Washington has followed these principles from the very beginning. The functions of the Federal government are departmentalized in ten departments and certain independent agencies, with control over appointment and removal of personnel vested largely in the president. The merit system of civil service has been instituted to insure nonpolitical selection of public servants, and today applies

¹⁴ Governor Campbell's Special Message of February 7, 1921, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

to about 69 per cent of the present number of Federal civil servants.¹⁵

In our American cities with the city manager and commission forms of government, these principles are utilized.

Beginning with Illinois in 1917, more than twenty states have adopted comprehensive plans of state administrative consolidation.¹⁶ Within the present era of depression, such states as Kentucky, Colorado, Maine, Georgia, North Carolina, and Indiana have adopted such plans. Moreover, several states have given serious consideration to administrative reorganization and consolidation plans. Among these are Oregon, Iowa, Delaware, Connecticut, Arkansas, Nevada, Oklahoma, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

What are the results of these plans now in effect in more than twenty states? Competent observers make specific and apparently well-founded claims in favor of the actual achievements of reorganized systems. The concrete achievements in the form of better roads, improved streets, bigger markets, lower death rates and so on are recorded in many places and are attributed, in part, to the improved administrative machines.

A major objective in the reorganization is economy. Has it been achieved? For Illinois, there is considerable testimony in the affirmative. Governor Lowden writes: "The code went into effect on July 1, 1917, and we have been operating under it ever since. Appropriations made by our General Assembly, two years ago, were based upon pre-war prices and conditions. And yet we will have completed the biennium of June 30, 1920, without a deficit in any department under the Code, with the exception of the single item of supplies for charitable and penal institutions in the department of public welfare."¹⁷ A. E. Buck of the New

¹⁵ *Fifty-Second Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission, 1935* (Government Printing Office, 1935), pp. 1-10.

¹⁶ A. E. Buck, *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments* (5th ed., New York, 1930), pp. 1-42; J. M. Mathews, *American State Government* (New York, 1934), pp. 98-99.

¹⁷ F. O. Lowden, "Problems of Civil Administration," *North American Review* (1919), vol. 210, pp. 186-192.

York Bureau of Municipal Research said of the Illinois plan: "This system has been in operation for over seven years, and during the time it has proven the means of systematizing the state's business, of giving the people better service at less cost, and it has demonstrated ability to withstand successfully political changes in administration."¹⁸ In Nebraska a special session of the legislature was called to reduce the appropriations for the biennium 1921-1923 by \$2,000,000 after over two years' operation of the new code.¹⁹ A most remarkable showing is recorded in Pennsylvania where Governor Pinchot wiped out a deficit of \$29,000,000 within two years.²⁰

Claims relative to savings in dollars and cents cannot always be taken at face value perhaps, especially when made by the administrators themselves. It is to be noted further that all savings may not always be considered desirable, and sometimes a favorable showing is made only by the postponement of desirable expenditures, which later mount even higher on account of postponement. However, states Professor Leonard D. White (now member of the United States Civil Service Commission): "Making all allowances it seems clear that the reorganized governments can rightfully claim to be more economical than their predecessors."

In addition to the claim for economy under the integrated systems, is the claim of greater efficiency in their favor. The departmentalized systems have tended to define efficiency in terms of administrative services and problems, and are setting up continuing mechanisms, such as fiscal supervision, unit costs, standardization, and so on. These tend to reveal efficiency or waste. This in turn permits the establishment of standards of performance with sufficient preciseness and simplicity to enable public opinion to insist upon their observance. It has been the occasion for the release of a new spirit. Says Governor Davis of Idaho, "This is the dawn of a new era in civil administration. . . . I have actually seen the enthusiasm, the exchange of ideas

¹⁸ A. E. Buck, *op. cit.* (1924), p. 9.

¹⁹ A. E. Buck, "Nebraska's Reorganized State Administration," *National Municipal Review* (1922), vol. 11, pp. 192-200.

²⁰ See Pennsylvania's budget for 1925, p. iii.

and the feeling of added responsibility; as I sit in cabinet meetings and have noted the difference between the old regime and the new, I have come to believe the day past when the worn out, creaking system of state government will do."²¹

Moreover, it is perhaps significant that not one of the reorganized systems has been abandoned.

PRINCIPLES DEVELOPED BY OTHER STATES

It seems rather certain that the past decade and a half have tended to develop certain standards with regard to administrative reorganization and consolidation. Four such principles are herewith presented and explained briefly.²²

First, departmentalization of administrative agencies along functional lines is an important principle. This calls for the grouping of all agencies performing services of like and similar functional nature into a few orderly departments. Proper dovetailing within the department requires subgrouping of closely related work under appropriate bureaus and divisions. The number and character of departments are determined by the conditions within the state government, but it should be noted that the number of such departments should not be too great. This is because "great is the consternation of the chief executive who attempts to drive a multitude of wild horses of administration."

Second, fixed and definite lines of responsibility for all departmental work should be provided. A department headed by a single officer, appointed and removable by the governor, places beyond question the responsibility for the administrative work of the state. This makes the governor, in fact as well as in theory, the responsible chief executive of the state. The heads of the various departments are called upon to form a cabinet, meeting with the governor for planning and co-operation. Within the department, realization of the principle calls for the placing of responsibility for closely related work upon single bureaus and

²¹ D. W. Davis, "How Administrative Consolidation is Working in Idaho," *National Municipal Review* (1926), vol. 8, p. 202.

²² A. E. Buck, *op. cit.* (1928 ed.), pp. 5-6.

division heads; these heads being single officers, directly responsible to the governor.

Third, proper co-ordination of the terms of office of administrative officers is essential. The four-year term for the governor seems preferable, and the terms of department heads, if they are definitely fixed at all, should be carefully adjusted with reference to that of the governor. It would seem that department heads should not have longer terms than that of the governor, and it seems preferable to have them serve at the governor's pleasure. Experience indicates that this exception may be made: namely, the members of boards or commissions performing quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial, inspectional, or advisory functions under the departments or otherwise may be appointed for longer terms than that of the governor.

Fourth, plural-headed agencies, as boards or commissions, are undesirable as purely administrative agencies. Boards in the purely administrative capacity are generally found inefficient owing to division of powers and absence of initiative and responsibility. Ex-officio boards are almost never effective in the highest degree. Whenever there are quasi-legislative, quasi-judicial, advisory, or inspectional functions within a department, a board may with advantage be attached to the department to perform any one of these functions.

Thus we have reviewed rapidly the meaning of administration in terms of functions performed; we have seen that the form of government is important, though not necessarily always decisive. Further, rising from the ashes of the past, the modern state of Arizona has become relatively great, though it has multiplied its administrative agencies opportunistically to the tune of about eighty or more. These present a tangled "wildwood" in the midst of the call for efficiency and economy in the discharge of the many state functions. We need not continue to sanction the situation which makes a Lucifer smile with the joy of anticipation. Could it have been a Lucifer who prompted the poet to sing, "Over forms of government let fools contest"?

EXPERIENCES OF AN INDIAN SCOUT

EXCERPTS FROM THE LIFE OF JOHN ROPE,
AN "OLD TIMER" OF THE WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHES

(as told to Grenville Goodwin)

John Rope is now (1935) an old man living among his people at Bylas, Arizona, on the San Carlos Indian Reservation. He or his people did not keep track of their ages in the old days, but as near as it is possible to figure it out, he was born about 1855. The stories he tells here have mainly to do with his experiences and adventures while enlisted as a scout in the U. S. Government service, though the first part deals with some of his boyhood remembrances. His real name is Tlol-dil-xil, which means "Black Rope," and by this title he is known to almost all his people. I first met the old man in the fall of 1928 at Bylas, but it was not until the spring of 1932 that he told me these stories of his adventures.

It must be understood that all Apaches were divided into groups or tribes, and that certain sets of these groups or tribes, which were more or less alike in custom and speech, went to make up the several Apache divisions. Thus the Western Apache Division to which John Rope belonged was composed of five groups: White Mountain people, Cibecue people, San Carlos people, Southern Tonto people, and Northern Tonto people. The only other Apache division here mentioned is that of the Chiricahua and their two allied tribes, the Warm Springs people and the Ni-n-da-hi. This last division was the one against which all the military campaigns were conducted on which John Rope went as a scout. Due to the often hostile feeling between this division and the Western Apache Division, it was not hard to get western Apache scouts to enlist against the Chiricahuas and their two allied tribes. The Yavapais were a Yuman tribe, closely related to the western Apaches in culture, who had been compelled to come and settle on the San Carlos Reservation.

The material that follows was recorded with the help of Richard Bylas, of Bylas, as interpreter, since the old Indian does not speak English. There are many place names which occur in his stories and which he gave in his own language. However, these would mean little or nothing to the average reader, and therefore, the English or Spanish names of these places have been given when they were known to me. Since our alphabet has no substitute for certain sounds in the Indian vocabulary, I have used such letters as most nearly correspond. For more exact phonetic recording see *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection*, 1916, vol. 66, no. 6. The exact location of places is not always possible.

These stories of John Rope's life are set forth in the hope that they will prove of interest to Americans, and also with the sincere hope that the people of the country will come to understand more fully the great part that the western Apache people played in the settling of a wide area of the present state of Arizona through their willingness to help the U. S. troops.



John Rope at Bylas,
October, 1932.

I was born at a place between old summit and Black River but I don't remember much till we were living at Cedar Creek, west of Fort Apache. I can remember playing as a child there with the other children. At that time we had lots of corn planted, and our people were digging a ditch and making a dam in the creek to water the ground. The men and women worked together, digging with sharp pointed sticks. The women carried the loose dirt off in baskets. After the ditch was finished, they started to make a dam to turn the water into it. They first put up a series of sets of four poles, tripod-like, across the creek in a line. These poles were driven into the creek bed in a square of about three feet, and their tops brought together and tied. The

tripods stood about three feet high when finished, and between them they put piles of rocks to hold them steady. The men did this work, and when it was done they tied bear grass and dry bark into the tripods at first in bundles. Then they laid bear grass lengthwise along the upper side of the tripods from one to another. Over the bear grass

they packed the dry inner bark of cedar and cottonwood, the men and women both working. This inner bark was pounded up soft and wadded in. Now, on the upper side, right in front of where the bear grass had been put, they built a wall of flat red stones all along till it was as high as the posts. They took great care that this wall and dam were made straight. Between this wall and the bear grass was a space which they filled with gravel and dirt which the women dug out and brought in their baskets. This space was completely filled with earth. Now the dam was finished; it took about two weeks in all. After it was made, the people watched it carefully to see if it leaked anywhere. If a leak was found, it was plugged right away. When the dam was finished, the water was turned into the ditch, and finally they were ready to water their ground. The head man of a community was always the first to get the use of the water. After him came the others. When the ground had been watered and had started to dry out a little, they planted the corn. When planting his field, the owner hired some men to help him; he paid these workers with cooked corn and would tell them to bring baskets or pots so they might divide and take it home. They used a metal hoe with a handle to dig the ground. I guess they got these hoes from the Navajo and Zuñi. When the people saw the corn begin to come up after it had been planted, it made them happy. If there were any grass or weeds in it, the workers pulled them out. When the corn was up about one and a half feet, it was watered again, and when it was about three and a half feet tall, it was watered once more. At this time it was beginning to form ears; when it had reached this stage our people used to go off south of Black River to gather acorns, and the corn was left to mature by itself.

We used to gather acorns all the way from Oak Springs on the west, to Rocky Creek on the east.¹ When the acorns were ripe, we climbed the oak trees and shook the acorns

¹ The acorns of Emory's oak are gathered mainly in August. They are stored away in sacks for later use. In using this food the acorns are shelled, and the meats are mashed on a stone with a mano or other suitable stone. The resulting meal is mixed with cooked meats or other foods and eaten. This variety of acorns is also eaten like nuts.

to the ground where they were picked up and carried back to camp in baskets. After a while we always sent someone back to Cedar Creek to see how the corn was getting on. If the corn were ripe all our people would pack up the acorns we had gathered and move back to harvest the corn.

In the late fall we used to go to gather juniper berries.² That fall we started out and made camp where the White River bridge is now. We didn't know it then, but we were to have bad luck. The next day we crossed over south and camped by Turkey Tanks in the pines. That evening it was very cloudy overhead. Our whole band was there, but among us we had only six or eight horses. My father had a spotted mule. My grandmother and my mother built a shelter for the night by laying pieces of dead wood up against the trunk of a pine tree and all around it. I was still a little child at that time. It rained and snowed all night, and the next morning the snow was about waist deep when we woke up. Some of the people had not built any shelter at all. It was some eight miles from here to the place we were going to gather juniper berries. We dug the snow away down to the ground and made a fire with some pine wood while some of the people went to look for the horses; it was hard to find them in the snow. After the horses were brought in and saddled some of our band started out with them to break trail. A mule went in front, and the horses followed; in this way they broke a trail to a ridge above us where there was not so much snow. Then they came back with the horses, and we packed up and started off for the ridge. The people had to carry a lot of the stuff in burden baskets on their backs as we didn't have enough horses to pack everything. The people on horses went in front, and the others followed. In those days we wore moccasins which came up to our knees; we tied the top close to our legs. We finally got to a place near Hill Crest and made camp there. There was not much snow

² Juniper berries are gathered off the trees in the fall. The berries are allowed to dry somewhat, and are boiled in water until soft. They are then ground into a pulp on a metate or flat stone. This pulp is molded into a ball and stored for future use. Prepared in this way the food has a sweet flavor and is quite palatable.

here, and under the trees there was none. Here under the blue oaks and junipers we made our wickiups, just like those we use today, only they were covered with grass and no canvas. We made our beds out of grass, and managed to keep warm.

We boys used to hunt rats with bows and arrows. A lot of us used to start out in the morning and hunt till mid-afternoon. The way we got the rats was by one boy poking a long stick into the rat's nest, while the other boy would stand near the nest entrance on the opposite side. When the stick was poked in, the rat would come to the door and stick out his head; then the boy would shoot him. Sometimes the rats would come to the door and then go back. If they would not come out we would tear the house down and dig them out of their hole. We would poke our stick in the hole, and if there were hair on the end of it when we took it out, we knew the rat was there and we would dig him out. Some rats were easy to get, and others were not. If a rat got away from us the older boys with us would make fun of us. It was a rule that once we started to get a rat out of his nest, we could never stop till we got him. When we came home from a rat hunt, the rats would be divided evenly among us. We used to hunt cottontail rabbits too and shoot them where we saw them sitting under brush or in the grass. The rats to be eaten were put in the fire and all the hair burnt off. Then they were skinned and either roasted or boiled. It was the same way with rabbits. One time a boy called Becn went out hunting rats. He chased a rat into a hole in the trunk of a tree. He could see it in there, but when he got hold of its tail with his fingers to try to pull it out he just pulled the skin off its tail. Then he squeezed his hand into the hole and caught hold of its hind legs. When he came to pull his hand out he could not do so. The hole was too small. He stayed there all that night, crying and hollering for some one to come. Next morning his people decided they better look for him as he had not come home. They finally found him with his hand caught in the tree. One of the men took his knife and cut the hole a little bigger so the boy

could slip his hand out. This way he got loose and got the rat too.

We had been camping by Turnbull Mountain that spring, gathering mescal, and now we started home. We moved our camp on to the Gila River. From here we journeyed back to Cedar Creek. It took us a long time. Those who had horses packed them and took a load to the next camp, then returned and took another load and so on till all the mescal was brought up from camp to camp. They always made us boys carry the water bottles and sometimes the cedar bark torches.³ When we got back, the mescal shoots were stored in the branches of juniper and oak trees around camp.

Our people were camped near the falls on Blue River when word came that there were some white men camped at Goodwin Springs.⁴ A group of people started out from our camp to see what these white people were doing. I was still a boy, but I went along with them. We made camp at the cave on the head of Salt Creek, and the next day moved on toward the Gila River. Near where Calva now stands, we came out on a hill on the north side of the river. From here we could see a large number of our own people talking with white men on the flat across the river. We were afraid to go down there so one man was sent ahead to see what all these people were doing. It was agreed that if this man should stand apart from the crowd, it was safe for us to come down. If he did not do so there was danger. He went down, and we could see him standing apart from the rest, but all the same we didn't go to him. Instead we went up the river a way and then came down to its edge. There our man met us and told us what he had seen. Somebody found some little sticks with red points, which had an odor. These were matches, but we had never seen them before and did not know what they

³ Cedar bark torches—strips of cedar bark tied together in a long torch—were used as slow matches to carry fire from camp to camp. The boys were made to carry loads so that they might be strong and helpful.

⁴ It was in 1864 that the U. S. troops came to Goodwin Springs and set up a post (Ft. Goodwin). This was the first time troops had been stationed in the territory of the White Mountain Apaches.

were. They had been dropped there by the white men. Someone struck one against a basket; it caught fire, and that was when we first knew matches.

Our people kept on the old trail up the river where there was lots of white grass growing. This was the south side of the river. Just the other side of Black Point were camped some of our people, and we made camp there too. I was with my aunt. She got hold of some flour from the white men, but she had never seen it before and did not know how to cook it. My other aunt who was there also knew how—she took it, made it into dough and put it in the coals to cook. When it was done, she took it out and washed it off to clean away the ashes. This was the first time I ever saw the white man's food. The women gathered wild hay and traded it to the white men for this new food.

The next day we boys started over to Goodwin Springs to see the white people; we had never seen them before. We went up on the side of a bank and watched them. There were lots of them, all dressed the same. They wore blue pants, black shirts, and black hats. Later on we learned that they were soldiers; at that time they had the old guns, percussion caps. While we were watching they brought over a big basket of beans and meat and bread to us. When we got back to camp with this food there were some bones in the meat which had been sawed off. We thought the white people must have some kind of sharp knife with which they could cut through a bone. The women kept on trading wild hay to the white men for grub. We didn't know what money was in those days.

In two days we boys went back to the white man's camp again. While we were there, the cook took a sack over to where he was cooking and filled it with bread which he brought to us. There was a big ditch there which we could not cross, but he threw the bread over and the boys caught it. After he had thrown it all, everyone had some bread but me. The white man saw this. He went back to camp and returned with a cloth coat and some bread. He told the other boys to stay away, and then he gave me the coat and the bread. I put the coat on; it was long, yellow on

the inside, blue on the outside, and with a cape over the shoulders. It had fine brass buttons on it. The boys didn't know this kind of coat and had never seen fine cloth like this. They gathered all around me to look.

From then on we boys went every day to the white camp to eat. One day my brother and I went to the camp and got there about noon. We met a white man riding. He was leading a white horse to where they butchered their cattle. We watched him to see where he went. When he got to the place he killed the white horse and told us to come and butcher it. We ran up, each of us grabbed a leg, and we said this part is for me, and this part for you, but we had no knife. In a little while lots of our people were there. They butchered and skinned the horse and took most of the meat. That white man had killed the horse for my brother and me, but my brother only got a front leg, and I got the neck.

After a while, when my aunt had gotten a lot of beans and flour from the white men, we started back to Blue River. The head man of the whites at Goodwin Springs⁵ had said he wanted to see Hacke-ldasila,⁶ who was the main chief of the eastern White Mountain people then. So Hacke-ldasila started out to Goodwin Springs. As he traveled along with some other people, he kept burning the brush along the trail and making lots of smoke. As long as we could see this smoke, our people would know that things were going all right and that there was no danger. But if the smoke stopped we would know that the party had got into trouble with the white men. Hacke-ldasila also carried a white flag in his hand. All his band was with him, and after arriving at Goodwin Springs they met the white officer. I don't know what his name was, but we called him Guc-hujn, which means "wrinkle neck." Since that time

⁵ Ft. Goodwin was established June 21, 1864, by Edwin A. Riggs, Colonel 1st California Volunteers. Col. Riggs turned over the command of the fort in August of 1864 to Major Joseph Smith, 5th California Infantry.

⁶ This man was the great chief of the eastern White Mountain people at the time and had great influence over all the White Mountain people.

we have always had an interpreter with us. In the old days we used to have as interpreters Mexicans whom we captured in Mexico as children and raised among us. Some of them got away and went back to Mexico. The head officer at Goodwin Springs told Hacke-lidasila that he wanted him as a friend. He said, "We white people are far from home here, but you Indians know all this country, where the water is, and where the best lands are. Your people should settle down and live around here in the good places. If you keep on living your old way, you will never eat this new food like we have, but if we are friends we will all eat it. I see your people eating the guts, legs, hoofs, and heads of horses. If we are friends we shall have lots and eat only the good meat parts." "Alright," Hacke-lidasila said, and now he told where he lived at a place where two streams came together.⁷ Then he and Guc-hujn embraced and were friends.

From that day on they were like brothers and had no more trouble. It has been like that with all of us since that time, and it was Hacke-lidasila who made it this way with the white people for us. All those people who were full grown then are now dead. We don't remember our grandparents' times, just as you white people don't. It was sometime later that Jimmie Stevens' father, who used to drive the mail from Goodwin Springs to Fort Bowie, and whom we called "Paper Carrier," married a White Mountain woman, at Goodwin Springs. Jimmie Stevens says he is sixty-two years old now.

After the council the white officer gave out rations to Hacke-lidasila, and then this chief and his band moved back near Fort Apache, where Calva now is, where they had lived for about a year. This chief had told the white officer he should put another soldiers' camp at the place where Fort Apache now stands, and shortly after he and his band moved back from the Gila River, the white men started up to the Fort Apache location to make a camp there. They drove wagons drawn with oxen and made their road as they went. When the soldiers' camp at Fort

⁷ The junction of the forks of White River.

Apache was established (1870), they issued rations to us regularly.⁸ We drew flour, sugar, coffee, and meat. There were lots of our people and it took all day for everyone to draw his rations. We drew rations every ten days. After a while they stopped issuing beef and gave out the cattle for us to butcher ourselves. They allowed ten to fifteen head for each band. If the band was very large they gave twenty head. One time they issued blankets to us, similar to Navajo blankets, but a different color and lighter and thinner. Later they gave out black, red, and blue blankets, three to each camp.

While we were all camped here at Fort Apache, some eastern White Mountain people and western White Mountain people went on the war path. They went south to Graham Mountain and stayed there quite a while. Then they came back and tried to make friends again with the white people at Fort Apache. Most of the Cibecue people and Tca-tcidn's (a clan) were camped at this fort also on the east side of the river near the soldiers. All the White Mountain people were camped on the other side of the river. My family was living near the soldiers then. The western White Mountain people had six chiefs, and the eastern White Mountain people four. I think the white man in charge of the fort told the Cibecue and Tca-tcidn people to kill those men who had been on the war path. They started to do this. They would kill one man, and in a few days they would get another. This way it kept on. One day they killed a certain eastern White Mountain man, and all the White Mountain people got mad and shot back at them. They killed nine Cibecue and Tca-tcidn men that day, and three of their own men were killed. At that time Si-bi-ya-na, Wan-a-ha, and Tsis-kije were interpreters for the Cibecue and Tca-tcidn people.

There were lots of soldiers there at Fort Apache. The agent there was called Tc-a-da-iz-kane.⁹ The agent at San

⁸ For many years the government made a practice of issuing weekly rations to the western Apaches, as the people would not have been able to stay so near the agency otherwise, due to lack of food.

⁹ This agent was probably Jas. E. Roberts.

Carlos was John P. Clum.¹⁰ I guess Clum heard about the killing that was going on at Fort Apache, as he sent a letter up to the agent there. Whatever he requested in the letter, the agent at Fort Apache said "no" to him. He wrote again, and the Fort Apache agent still said "no." Then Clum came up himself to Fort Apache. When he rode up to the fort, he was riding a gray horse and coming fast. Just before he got to where the people were standing, his hat blew off. One of the officers picked it up for him. Right there he held a talk with the agent at Fort Apache. He took the letter out of his pocket and showed it to the agent. Then he said that all of us were to come down and settle at San Carlos—the eastern White Mountain and western White Mountain people, Cibecue people, and the Tca-tcidn (1875).¹¹ We all moved down to the Gila River after that, all except the Tca-tcidn, who never came at all. They made an agency there for us; Crooked Nose¹² was the subagent. It was about this time that the Indian Scouts¹³ were organized. One officer and some scouts were sent down to Fort Bowie. These scouts and soldiers at Fort Bowie captured a lot of Chiricahua Apaches and brought them back in big army wagons with high sides to live at Goodwin Springs (1875).¹⁴ Some of the Chiricahuas were never caught. Our band lived near the Chiricahuas, by Black Point. They issued supplies and blankets to

¹⁰ John P. Clum was agent at San Carlos from 1874 to 1877. He died in 1932.

¹¹ This was in pursuance of the Government policy of centralizing all Apaches in Arizona at San Carlos regardless of where they had lived before 1875.

¹² See Bourke. He was the only agent or subagent at the subagency. The subagency was abolished about 1882 (p. 13).

¹³ Later they had the status of regular enlisted men. They were enlisted in companies of twenty-five, and all noncommissioned officers were Apaches. The companies were commanded by a white officer. The term of enlistment was six months. The scouts were furnished with rifle, cartridge belt, canteen, and blanket by the government and drew uniforms if they wished.

¹⁴ The Chiricahuas had previously had a reservation of their own near Silver City, New Mexico.

them and sent some scouts up to San Carlos to bring back some cattle for them to butcher. I was about eighteen years old then.

Soon they sent the scouts east to bring back the Warm Springs Apaches¹⁵ living there. Richard Bylas' uncle was a chief then, and he was first sergeant of the scouts that went over after the Warm Springs people. After they arrived at the Warm Springs settlement, near Silver City, all the scouts except Richard Bylas' uncle who knew most of these Warm Springs people went into a building and hid. When the Warm Springs people came in they lined up, and the officer took their arms from them. Then all of the scouts stepped out of the building with their guns and surrounded them. They started to bring the Warm Springs people back to San Carlos, some on foot and some on horses. Their grub they carried in a wagon. On the way, smallpox broke out among them. Our band heard about this, so all our people went off in the mountains and lived scattered in different places. When the smallpox was over, the subagent sent us word, and we came in again. Just after this they issued us some sheep, one to each man, for us to raise. But we did not want them and butchered them right away to eat.

The subagency was moved to where Calva is now located, and Crooked Nose was still our agent there. That spring we moved to Fort Apache to plant our corn, but we came all the way down to get our rations at the subagency just the same and drove our allotted cattle back to Fort Apache. When the corn was ripe and harvested, our band moved back to the subagency. From there some of the men went to join the scouts. They sent them off to different places, and in six months they came back again to the subagency.

The next time they recruited the scouts, a whole bunch of us went from the subagency to San Carlos to try to enlist. My brother and I went along on one horse, riding double. At San Carlos there were lots of Indians gathered

¹⁵ The Warm Springs people up until this time had their own agency near Silver City, New Mexico. In 1877, when this removal to San Carlos occurred, Victorio, one of the main Warm Springs chiefs, was not taken.

to enlist—Yavapais, Tontos, San Carlos, and White Mountain people were all there. We lined up to be chosen. My brother was the first one picked. My brother said if he was to be scout, then he wanted me to go as scout with him. He told this to the officers. They asked which one I was, and he took them to where I was standing. These officers looked me over to see if I was all right. They felt my arms and legs and pounded my chest to see if I would cough. That's the way they did with all the scouts they picked, and if you coughed they would not take you. I was all right so they took me. After they had picked about forty men, they said that was enough and that they needed no more scouts. I was twenty or twenty-five years old at that time. Our officer said we scouts would move out for Fort Thomas the next day. We made it as far as the sub-agency and camped. Next day we got to Fort Thomas. Those scouts who had wives were followed by them to Fort Thomas, and there they were allowed to draw out five dollars' worth of supplies from the commissary for their families. Our next camp was at Cedar Springs, and from there we went on to Fort Grant. From Fort Grant we went to "Antelope's Water" and camped.¹⁶ The next camp was at some springs just north of Fort Bowie. The following day we got into Fort Bowie where we stayed four days while they were shoeing the pack mules, and we were fixing our moccasins. Then they packed up the leather pack bags for the mules and said we would move out tomorrow to be gone for one month. This was the first time I was ever a scout. The officer said at the end of one month we would come back to the Chiricahua Mountains and camp there.

We started out and went to a big mountain southeast of the Chiricahua Mountains. Then near Sierra Espuela, in Sonora, we continually looked for a sign of the Chiricahua people.¹⁷ We didn't cross into Mexico this time. There was a lot of food with us. The first three days I got very

¹⁶ Water hole between south end of Graham Mountains and Dos Cabezas Mountains.

¹⁷ These were not the Chiricahuas who had come into the San Carlos Reservation in 1875.

stiff and sore; then after that I felt as though I was getting light, and it was easier. We scouts carried a belt slung across the shoulder and chest with fifty cartridges in it. Besides this we carried our rifles and canteen of water. We used to eat early in the morning and again late at night, only twice a day. This is the way we rounded up the Chiricahuas, and it was hard work, but we had to do as our officer said. I was the youngest, so the other scouts made me gather the wood and get water for them, even though I was very tired.¹⁸ We traveled every day, making our camps at springs. We always kept a guard in front and back when we traveled. After about a month we started for our new headquarters. We found the soldiers camped at the southeast corner of the Chiricahua Mountains. There were scouts there from San Carlos also. They knew we were coming and had grub cooked for us when we got there. The officer told us to make our camp about three miles below the place where the soldiers were. There were two creeks coming together here. The soldiers were camped on the right fork, below them was our camp on one side of the stream, and a saloon was on the left fork. The day after we got there the San Carlos scouts moved out.

The name of this place was Rucker Canyon. After we had made our camp our lieutenant and the lieutenant of a company of scouts camped some distance below us started up the river to the soldiers' camp. Soon after they left, it started to rain very hard. The water ran off the mountain near by and covered all the flat and filled the washes. The two officers who started up the river got to the saloon on the left fork and there met two citizens, one of whom was in charge of scouts. The four of them stayed there till the rain was over. After the rain the river was high. I guess the men at the saloon were a little drunk, anyway the two citizens got on their mules and swam across the river; then they went up a way and crossed back safely. Now the two officers tried it. One had a black horse, and the other a sorrel horse. They mounted and started across, riding side

¹⁸ It was the custom in the old days when on the war path to make the young men who were not yet full-fledged warriors do all the heavy camp work.

by side, instead of going one behind the other as they ought to have done. When they got out in the deep water the current knocked the upper horse over against the lower horse and upset both. The officers fell off in the water, and the horses swam to the shore. The saloon man saw what had happened and threw a rope to the officers. They grabbed at it, but missed, and the water washed them on down into the rocky canyon where our scout camp was located. About sundown a man rode down on the side of the river opposite our camp and called across to the man who was in charge of our pack mules. We were busy moving our outfit back on higher ground. He told the packer that the two officers had been drowned and how it had happened. He said they wanted all of us scouts to come up the river to the saloon and also the soldiers. Da-o-za-ha and Gu-di-gude, our sergeants, got us together, and we started. We crossed the river twice getting up there, and the water was up to our arm pits. When we got there citizen Jack and the other man were still crying in the saloon about what had happened. They called the sergeant in and said, "Here is your officer's hat still lying here on the bench." We all started out to look for the bodies, but couldn't find them and so returned to camp. They told us we would look again tomorrow. About one hour after we got back two soldiers came for us. They said we were to go back again and look for the bodies that night. The packer called us over where the mules were, and there he had a jug of whiskey. He poured a cupful for each of us. Then we started up the river again. We met the soldiers, all lined up with lanterns, who said that they would search the river on both sides where it was open and that the scouts should look in the canyon. I guess they were afraid some coyotes would eat the bodies. They gave us long sticks to poke into the piles of drift wood and brush that had caught along the sides in the bushes. The water had run out by now and only mud lay along the banks. We started into the canyon and went all through it but could find nothing of the officers. On the way out one scout was behind us. On a little knoll over which the high water had been, he found one officer. He called us all back. The soldiers and

everyone gathered all around with lights. The shirt was torn, but the pants were still all right. The doctor with the troops listened to his heart with something. He said the heart was still warm and that we should carry the body to the hospital at the soldiers' camp. It was heavy, and we had to take turns carrying it. We scouts went back to our camp but when it was almost dawn an officer came to tell us to start out again. Some were too sleepy and did not want to do so. They sent twenty-one of us scouts down the river to search. The other scout company below was to work up and meet us. I did not go as I was doing the cooking at the time. There were four of us who stayed behind. They found the other officer's body below, doubled around the trunk of a big sycamore tree which was growing in the wash. He had one hundred dollars in bills in his pocket wallet. They took him on up to the soldiers' camp.

While we were there they used to line us scouts up every day and count our rifles and cartridges and other equipment. In fifteen days the scout company below us got a new lieutenant and started out again to travel. We did not get a new lieutenant to replace our drowned one for twenty-eight days. Then a lieutenant and two soldiers came on down from Fort Thomas to our camp. This officer was young and stocky; he was to be our new officer. He said he wanted to shake hands with all of us, so we did. We felt bad about the loss of our old officer, and it made us sick inside. The next day after our new officer got in, we moved out to the southeast, going around the corner of the Chiricahua Mountains and approaching the Mexican border, camping at Guadalupe Canyon. From here we went straight east to Round Mountain (near the head of Animas Valley, New Mexico), and made camp there for four days. There were springs there and lots of willows growing near. The officer sent us out from this camp to look around; he told us to be back in four days, but we found no sign of the Chiricahuas. We all moved out at the end of four days, passed through a canyon and over to some springs where we camped again. The next place we went was the east side of Sierra Espuela in Chihuahua. The sand in the wash at this place is sort of streaked with a green powder, and that is why it is called

Chihuahua (Apache name). We stayed here three days and reconnoitered. Then we circled over the hill and back down into a canyon on the other side; this was still near the east of Sierra Espuela. To our next camp we moved through a little pass to the northeast end of the Sierra Espuela, then toward Fort Bowie and camped at "Red Standing Rocks" at the foot of a canyon. On Turkey Creek we camped at the place where the Chiricahuas often camped. From here we finally returned to the place where the officers had been drowned. The other scouts and soldiers were still there. They had seen us coming and had our dinner already cooked. It was our relatives who had done this, and they called us over to eat. This time we camped close to the soldiers as this was better for us. The day after we got in, the other scout company moved out again to travel for one month, looking for the Chiricahuas around to the southeast. Our officer told us not to bother to fix our mocassins, as we would soon be starting back for San Carlos.

While we were at Rucker Canyon we had drawn twenty-six dollars of our pay, two months' time; we still had four months' pay coming to us. We were anxious to get back to San Carlos. Some of us had bought horses with our money, and others had lost theirs gambling. When we started back we drove our horses and also those horses that the scouts had bought who were not due home yet. The first night we stayed at a place on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains. The next day we got into Fort Bowie. There were lots of soldiers here. That night most of the scouts got drunk.

At this place my older cousin, who was a scout, said to me, "You have done lots of work for me, getting wood, water, building fires, and cooking. You have done the right way." He had a good new Mexican straw hat on his head, and this he took off and gave to me for what I had done. He was the only one who gave me anything. When we young men joined the scouts, our older man relatives would tell us to do whatever the older scouts wanted us to do. If we didn't work hard as we should, then that would be no good. This way we boys who were the youngest in

the company used to take turns doing the camp work. But unlike the boys of long ago, we had no other duties or observances when we were on the warpath for the first time. We used to kill lots of deer while on these scouts and eat all the parts we wanted.¹⁹

From Fort Bowie we went to some springs. The next camp was "Antelope's Water," just north of Willcox. Then we got to Fort Grant. They used to have a good time at Fort Grant, and the soldiers had a band there. From here we went to Cottonwood, where we put on all new clean clothes—mocassins, white drawers, gee string, shirt, and vest. Around our arms we wore copper arm bands. Some of us painted our faces red. We packed up and started out, passing to the north, then to Fort Thomas. Here we stopped and drew the rest of our pay and also the money that was due us for not drawing our uniforms.²⁰ In all, this came to forty-seven dollars. This money we divided among our relatives.

That is the way we used to do in those days, take care of our relatives by giving them clothes and grub. The Indians around here don't do that now. Down on the flat at Fort Thomas our relatives were waiting for us, as they knew we were due. There were some young girls there all dressed up and wearing their hair done up at the back on hair forms with brass on them as they used to do in those days.²¹ The girls were waiting for their sweethearts to come. We camped here, the next day moving on to the subagency. From here they took the pack mules up to San Carlos. Any men who wanted to join the scouts again were to come up to San Carlos, they said, but we could do as we liked, as we

¹⁹ In the old days on the first war party a boy was not allowed to eat the insides of any animal, only the good meat. If he did eat any insides something might happen to him, and he would not be able to travel well.

²⁰ Scouts were not compelled to draw uniforms, and at the end of their enlistment this was allowed for.

²¹ In former times the White Mountain girls who were unmarried had a style of doing their hair at the back of their heads in a long bunch of hourglass shape. On the back of this bunch of hair they fastened a decorated piece of leather or buckskin decorated with red cloth, beads, and brass tacks.

didn't have to join. I did not join again right away but stayed home for a little over a year, during the time it took for two scout enlistments to be made and discharged.

Then I joined again. There were eight White Mountain, twelve San Carlos, and five Chiricahua men in our company.²² We started out from San Carlos and stopped at the subagency. From here our relatives followed us to Fort Thomas so they might draw five dollars' worth of supplies against us at the commissary. They also issued our company four rifles here. From this place we went to Cottonwood and then to Fort Grant. The next camp was at the foot of Winchester Mountains near a white man's ranch. Then we got to the other side of Willcox at "White Man's Water." The fourth day we got into Fort Bowie. We stayed here for five days. At Fort Bowie they issued us wood and food. We fixed up our mocassins, and the rest of us drew our rifles, ammunition belts, cartridges, uniforms, and canteens. The officer told us to clean the rifles. These were short ones and shot big cartridges. They also gave us a black poncho and brown blanket apiece. Our mules were packed with four boxes of cartridges. We started off and went near the present location of Bowie, camped there, and then moved camp into the San Simon Valley. Now we crossed the mountains to "Red Rocks Standing," and camped. When taking this route to Mexico we always traveled through the same places along the border.²³

The next camp was at Cave Creek, and after that we stayed at the northeast end of Sierra Espuela. I knew this country now from the last time we were scouting there. We moved on to Guadalupe Canyon and from there we had intended to go to Round Mountain, but one of the soldiers

²² From this time on Chiricahua scouts and scouts from the other two tribes of the same division started enlisting as scouts in the campaigns against their own people. This was because there was divided opinion among their people.

²³ It was not until Crook's expedition into Mexico in 1883 that an understanding was reached whereby the Mexican government would allow U. S. troops or scouting parties to cross the international line in pursuit of hostile Apaches.

said there was water a little way beyond. We went there but there was no water, so we came back to Round Mountain and stayed there four days. Then we went beyond to a canyon where we found water and made camp. From here we could see a big white mountain, and the next day we set out for it. It was one of the Hatchet Mountains. There were some springs coming out at its foot with lots of willows growing around.

We stayed here three days looking for the Chiricahuas. We thought we could see some springs on the top of the mountain and if there were water there, we would move up. But it turned out there was no water. We moved farther around into a canyon and stayed there two days. At this camp some of us wanted to get to Sierra de Media (Chihuahua). We talked about it, but the others said not to go there as it was in Mexico. We went toward it but found no water, so they said we might as well go to the east edge of the Sierra de Media, which we did and camped there. We crossed the mountain here, looking for signs, and then circled back to camp. Our next camp was at a place near there, where some of the scouts had found water. From this place we crossed a ridge and made camp in a canyon. Then we moved to the mouth of Guadalupe Canyon and from here to near the present location of Agua Prieta. From here we went to Rucker Canyon and camped, then on up the west side of the Chiricahua Mountains. Here some white people had lots of cattle and horses, some of them broncos. Now we went to Turkey Creek Canyon, and the day after we got back to Fort Bowie. Here we stayed about one month, then the head officer there received word from Geronimo and a chief called Tan-din-bil-no-djul that they with their people, the Ni-n-da-hi,²⁴ were coming in to Fort Bowie pretty soon; that they wanted an agency established there for them; and that they didn't want any Apache scouts around when they got there. Geronimo's brother was a scout at that time.

²⁴ This was the third tribe of the Apache division to which the Chiricahua and Warm Springs people belonged. Their proper home was mainly in the north end of the Sierra Madre of Mexico. "Ni-n-da-hi" means "outlaw people."

We scouts were sent out again, this time towards Fort Huachuca. Our first camp was by the Swisshelm Mountains, then across to the west foot of the Bisbee Mountains. Now we crossed a mountain and camped on a big wash. The mountain there was called Whetstone. Now we went on over the southeast end of the Huachuca Mountains by Miller Peak in a canyon. From here we went to San Jose Mountain and camped at its foot. We were traveling fast. We went on to the Mule Mountains and made camp in a canyon. From here we crossed over the mountain and made another camp. Our officer said we would have to hurry and get back to Fort Bowie. We got up early next day and traveled to the Swisshelm Mountains, which we reached at sundown. The officer told us next camp would be at Turkey Creek Canyon. From this last place we got into Fort Bowie about noon.

Pretty soon after we reached Fort Bowie, the head officer there got word that the Ni-n-da-hi were coming as they had said they would. They passed by Turkey Creek Canyon and over the level country. We could see them coming for a long way. They made camp a good distance below the fort. Then a white man who had married one of their women and who was living with them came to our scout camp. This man was Dji-li-kine. A way below us were camped some Tonto scouts. Dji-li-kine stopped there and asked where the Bi-ni-e-dine²⁵ were camped. The Tontos told him, and he came on up to us. His wife was with him. It was about noon then. Na-gu-tline,²⁶ who was with us scouts, knew this white man well. I knew him a little. We shook hands with him. Dji-li-kine said, "You scouts are all right with me." We told him to come in and eat. "All right," he said, and he and his wife started to eat. After he was through Dji-li-kine went in our tent. There we had some acorns and gave him some. He tasted them and said, "I guess these come from Ash Flat or Rocky Creek

²⁵ This was the name by which the Chiricahua and their two allied tribes called the western Apaches. It means "brainless people." The western Apaches do not seem to resent it much.

²⁶ This old man died at Bylas in 1932.

all right; it's good to taste them again."²⁷ Soon Tan-din-bil-no-djul came to our camp. He said we scouts were living pretty well. Dji-li-kine told us this man was a Ni-n-da-hi and a chief. He said the people were afraid of him. We asked him to eat, and spread a canvas and put down coffee, bread, and sorghum in plates. "Now eat, my friend," we told him. He did. I stood there and watched him. Then he said, "All right, I like to try the scouts' food and see what it is like. It is good food and tastes well." Pretty soon some cowboys drove in cattle to the Ni-n-da-hi camp to be butchered. They also took down some wood to the Ni-n-da-hi in wagons. Then Dji-li-kine told us that the Chiricahuas would give a dance that night and for all of us to come down. They were going to tie up a drum.²⁸ "Good," we said. Now they sent two more wagon loads of wood down for the dance. That evening we heard the drums beating. All of us scouts, the Tontos, and the soldiers went right down to the Ni-n-da-hi camp. Before the dance started, Dji-li-kine made a talk. He said, "Some of these young girls here are wanton and they will try to make you dance farther and farther out in the dark away from the fire. So watch out for yourselves." Hac-ke-na-dil-tla, an old lame Ni-n-da-hi, was the one who knew all the dance songs, and he and the other Ni-n-da-hi singers stood in a group. Now this old man talked. He said, "We are going to dance the social dance, so get ready. The right way to dance for you girls," he said to the Ni-n-da-hi girls, "is for the man to put his head on your shoulder and you put yours on his. I want to see you dance this way with these Bi-ni-e-dine. Every song I sing you Bi-ni-e-dine have to pay me a quarter," he said to us scouts. He was making fun all the time. Now they started to sing. We danced till we nearly bumped into the girls and then back again. We didn't know how to do this Ni-n-da-hi dance. Hac-ke-na-dil-tla yelled again that that wasn't the right way and for us to put our heads on the

²⁷ The very best acorns were said to grow around Ash Flat and Rocky Creek.

²⁸ This is the expression used when a dance is about to be given. The drum will be used at the dance.

girls' shoulders, as he said, and follow the girls. Pretty soon they started to dance differently. Two girls would catch hold of us by the shirt sleeve. They wouldn't let go but just dragged us out, one on each side. The only way we could quit dancing was to give them two dollars' credit at the commissary at the fort. Then they would go and catch another one. They started this about midnight. There were not many girls, so the men who had young wives let them dance too. We kept on dancing till morning; I got caught twice by the girls. The Ni-n-da-hi said that the dance was over now and that we were all well acquainted. In the morning all the girls came to our camp and made us go to the commissary with them to buy them what they wanted with their two dollars. We all went there. Those girls weren't a bit ashamed and they just pointed out whatever they wanted. We bought calico and other things for them.

That day the Ni-n-da-hi said they wanted to play hoop and poles with us.²⁹ I had a small Navajo blanket with me. A Ni-n-da-hi called Na-tcul-ba-ye wanted to play me for my blanket, putting up a white mule against it. The other Ni-n-da-hi wanted to make the play the winning score of two games, and I was willing, but Na-tcul-ba-ye said it would have to be three games, so I agreed and we started. The first game I won on the mule. The second game I won also. Now I only had to get one more game

²⁹ Hoop and pole was one of the most important games of these people. Only the men played it, and women were not allowed where a game was going on, as they were said to start trouble with their prattle. Only two men played at a time. Each had a pole, and each took a turn at throwing the hoop. The hoop was thrown, and when it reached the furrows seen in the foreground of the picture both men threw their poles so as to have them slide along the ground and stop under the hoop or over it. The hoop was thrown just hard enough so that by the time it got to the furrows it fell sideways on the ground and lay there. The object was to throw the pole so that the hoop would land on or under the butt of it. On the butt of each pole was a series of markings for a distance of a little over a foot. On the hoop were also markings, and the relation of the markings on the hoop to those on the pole was what scored. The scoring system was a complicated one, and the game required a great deal of skill. It is not played at the present time.



A hoop and pole game at San Carlos. (Photo taken in the eighties.)

and I would win that mule. The next game Na-tcul-ba-ye won, and now I only had one game on the mule. He won the next game too, and now I had no games. Na-tcul-ba-ye wanted to play more, but I said no because he would not agree to make the play for two games in the first place and so we would not play anymore.

The next day the Ni-n-da-hi all set out for San Carlos, driving their cattle with them. A lot of things had been issued to them at Fort Bowie.

Two days after that a Ni-n-da-hi woman came into our camp. She had her face painted. She had been following the other Ni-n-da-hi up to Fort Bowie, stopping in their old camps and living off their leavings. On a ridge, just the other side of the fort, she had seen a little spotted calf. She tried to catch it for butchering, but every time she had made a grab for it, it had jumped away. She had been living with her husband back in the mountains, and he had been killed, so she had started out to find her people. She stayed with the five Chiricahua scouts in our company.

The next day two scouts went deer hunting over to the northeast end of the Chiricahua Mountains. There they saw a Chiricahua woman trying to roast some mescal. She was so poor and thin that she was like an old woman, though she must have been fairly young. Her body was as if all dried out, and she was using a stick to walk with. She was starving to death. The two scouts brought her back to our camp, and the soldier doctor came over to see her with the lieutenant. He gave her some whiskey and milk to drink. They gave her no food at all. Next day they fed her a little bread. She was taken over to the packer's camp near us. The day after that she was able to feed herself. In about a week she was better. Now the five Chiricahua scouts were looking after both these women who had come back. When she was well enough they got her to tell her story, and it went this way: She had been captured some time ago by the Mexicans and kept in a jail. This was an adobe building with no windows, only a little hole or chimney in the roof in one corner. She could look up through this and see blue sky, but that was all. They kept her in there almost a year. The only way she could tell was by



watching new leaves come out on the cottonwood tree, whose branches she could see above through the chimney. This place where she was, was in a big Mexican town. She had a friend there, one Mexican girl, who used to come and see her quite often. She brought her things that she made herself. She used to come every two days or so. One day she asked her if she never thought about getting away and going back to her own country and people again. The Chiricahua woman replied that she couldn't help thinking about it, but it was no good because she thought she would never see her land again. The Mexican girl answered, "I think you will see your home again. There is going to be a big dance just outside the town in about seven days, and I am going to take you to it." A couple of days after, the Mexicans made the prisoners come out and clear a path through the brush from the town to the place where the dance was to be. They made the Chiricahua woman work too. They piled all the brush up in two big piles on either side of the path to the dance ground. After this the Mexican girl came back again and brought the Chiricahua woman a dress she had made of brown cloth, some matches, and some bread, all done up in a package. She told her to hide it and let no one see. Then she said that the Chiricahua woman must shake her arms and legs and run around inside the building so that she would not be weak. She could hardly wait for the seven days to end and the time for the dance. The day before the dance the Mexican girl came again and said, "There is a big mountain back of where the dance is to be, but it is far away. The big mountain back of the jail, on this side of town, is near. Go on it and stay there, then start out for your country, but only travel at night as the Mexican soldiers will be out looking for you." She brought a white dress for the woman to wear. The night of the dance it was bright moonlight. She could hear the drums and horns at the dance. She put on the white dress, and pretty soon the Mexican girl came and got her. They started to walk down the path that the prisoners had cleared. There were lots of Mexicans going along the path, but it was dark and the Chiricahua woman was dressed like the other Mexican women. The Mexican girl was carrying

the parcel with her food and the brown dress under her arm. There were two girls in front of them, so the Mexican girl and the Chiricahua woman went from side to side pretending to look at things and let the others get ahead. Soon there were only a few Mexicans behind them, and the Mexican girl and the woman dodged in behind one of the piles of brush at the side of the trail. Here the woman put on her brown dress and took the food. The Mexican girl walked out and caught up with three other girls in front and went on to the dance. The Chiricahua woman then started for the mountain in back of the town. She got to the foot of it just about sunrise and slept there. Later she went on up the mountain. From here she could see the fire and smoke signals that the Mexicans were making to tell of her escape. About sundown she went down the other side of the mountain and got to the foot just at dusk. From here she crossed a big valley to another mountain and went up on top of it, where she hid all day. After three days of going at night, she started to travel in the day time. She was getting into country she knew now, but all her food was gone. She had to live on the inside fleshy part of a kind of small ground cactus. Every time she found some of these, she would do them up in her bundle and take them along to eat. She was beginning to give out now and was starving. She could not travel fast. After a while she got to the Chiricahua Mountains and followed them toward Apache Pass. But she couldn't remember which place this was and got lost. At this time the two scouts found her near the northeast corner of the Chiricahua Mountains and brought her back to our camp.

We stayed on for one month at Fort Bowie and hunted deer. The officer told us that in seventeen days we were to be discharged. He said we had lots of horses now and for us to take turns letting the two Chiricahua women ride our horses on the way back. The next day we started and made camp at some springs north of the fort, then traveled to some other springs. Now it was my turn to loan a horse to one of the Chiricahua women. We made our next camp at "Antelope's Water" and when we got there, the horse

that I loaned the woman was sore on the withers. From here we went to Fort Grant, Cedar Springs, and finally Fort Thomas, where we stayed for eleven days till our time was up. The two Chiricahua women were sent on to the subagency to their relatives. We got paid off at Fort Thomas and took our horses up to the subagency. The soldiers went on to San Carlos.

I had been living at the subagency when not a scout, yet I really belonged at Fort Apache so I moved back there. They used to enlist scouts at Fort Apache just the same as at San Carlos. About August they started to enlist scouts. That day forty western White Mountain men enlisted. This was because the feeling was so strong about the killing of Richard Bylas' uncle. This man was a chief of the eastern White Mountain people. He had killed some member of Victorio's band some time ago. After this he had gone down to the subagency to visit some relatives. Then he started back for Double Circle Ranch to his farm. Before he got there, Victorio came to that place with his men and caught one White Mountain man. Victorio said he had come after Richard Bylas' uncle and wanted to know where he was. The man said he had gone to the subagency, but that he was due back in a couple of days and would probably be camping at Cienega Creek on his way. The man was scared, that's why he told all this. Victorio went to Cienega Creek with his men, and there ambushed and killed Richard's uncle and all his family in the early morning.

Now the chief of the White Mountain people at Fort Apache said there would be a dance given that night so the scouts might start off the next day. It was to be a war dance. They spread a cow hide out for this dance. All the people—men, women, and children—were at the dance ground standing all around. A big fire was lit in the middle. All the scouts were there and I was one of them. We never laid down our rifles all that night. Everybody stands up at these war dances. The men who knew the war songs sang. As they sang, the dance leader would call out a

scout's name, and the scout called would have to go out and dance around the fire with his rifle, acting as if he were fighting, pointing his rifle at the ground and pretending to shoot, and putting his hand to his mouth and yelling as he would in battle. One after the other the dance leader called out the scouts; there were forty of them. When a man was called out, the girls who were his close relatives followed in line, dancing behind him. A medicine man, an old man who knew war medicine, led us, and we followed him. Now they took away the hide from where it was spread on one side of the fire. After the hide was taken away, they sang four songs, and we scouts danced for all four songs. Then four more songs were sung during which twelve men danced. They picked out the twelve strongest and bravest men, who were the most likely to succeed in war, to dance for these four songs. After this four of the best men were picked, who went one at a time to the circle near the fire. Everybody kept absolutely still while this was going on, and only the drum was beaten for the man who danced. When one of these four men went out, he would talk and step around in different places. He would say, "I met a bear some time ago and had trouble with him, but I came out all right," and so on telling of different dangers he had been in and come out of safely. Each time he told of a happening he would point at the ground in one place to emphasize and mark the incident. This way these four men made medicine and prayed. Now the war dance was over. This dance was given to let the scouts have war practice and to make war medicine.

Next a man who knew songs for the social dance went out in the middle and called the people to come all around him, young girls, and even married women, all the men and scouts. Now they started to sing. If a woman wanted to dance with a man, she touched him on the shoulder and he would follow her out into the circle and dance. We scouts always carried our rifles when we danced with the women. They kept on dancing and singing all night. When the morning came, we scouts were called together and talked to.

The first talker was an old woman, one who knew about war medicine. She said, "You boys are like close relatives to me. I want you to look out for yourselves and do things the right way. If you see the Warm Springs people, follow them and don't let them get away." Then a chief talked to us and said, "The Warm Springs people are born from women only. You are born from women also. If you see the Warm Springs people go right after them. Don't run away but go to them and stay fighting them." They talked with us that way because of the White Mountain chief who had been killed by the Warm Springs people.

That morning we scouts set out and made camp at the old wagon road at the crossing of the Black River. From here we went to Soldiers' Hole and made camp there for ten days to wait for some soldiers who were to join us. Lots of soldiers came, bringing sixty head of horses to replace the ones that they were using. They spent the time shoeing the horses and breaking them, as most were broncos.

In seven days more we all started out eastward to some springs where we camped. From here we went to Eagle Creek and got there at noon. The next camp was at the foot of Rose Peak. Then we went to a big grassy flat near Red Mountain. On the way over I was off to one side hunting. I saw a big black tail deer and shot at him about ten times and killed him. Right there I sprained my ankle. I skinned and butchered the deer, but as I had that bad ankle, I took only the skin to our camp. My foot and ankle were swollen when I got there. The other scouts asked me why I brought only the hide, and so I told them. The army doctor looked at my ankle, but could not cure it that night.

The next morning the officer brought over a mule and told me to ride it. We started out, the scouts going in front. Pretty soon I saw a big deer coming. He smelled the tracks of the scouts who were ahead but came on anyway. I got off the mule, tied him to a bush and shot the deer. He had large horns. I butchered him and called the packer over to get him to put it on one of the pack mules. He wanted to cut the head off but I said no. We put it on one of the

mules. We camped just west of the Mogollon Mountains on the San Francisco River where there were lots of cottonwoods. Next day we went east to a place where some Mexicans had a lot of sheep. They roped one and gave it to us scouts. We butchered it. There were lots of Mexicans living there, and we all camped close to them. At this place we stayed three days, and so we had time to remove the hair from our deer hides.³⁰ Our next camp was on the northeast end of Mogollon Mountains on a mesa where there was a cowboy's ranch. It was a long way to wood at this place. The cowboy's house was built of rocks and had a loophole pierced in each side so the place might be defended from the Warm Springs people who used to ride by and try to shoot into their loopholes. There was nobody living here, and I guess the Warm Springs people must have killed them all. We could still see the bullets in the rocks about the loopholes. At this place they gave us scouts half a steer to eat. From here we moved toward a place where there was a house with lots of cedar trees around it and which looked as though springs were likely to be there, but we found only mud in the spring holes.

We all started on, intending to make camp at the first water we found. The soldiers and ourselves ran out of water and almost gave out. On these marches they always kept five scouts out on either side as flankers. Five of us scouts went off in a canyon. There we took a rest. I fell asleep under a cedar tree and was dreaming about some white man shouting at me. Then I woke up, and there were two white officers yelling at me to wake up. I asked them if they had any water, but they just took their canteens out and tipped them upside down. They had no water. I kept on following up the canyon behind the others. Soon I came to a stand of willows. Here there were some black rocks ahead, and it looked like water at their foot. The other scouts were waiting for me there. They said not to

³⁰ Hair was removed so that the skins might later be made into buckskin. The hide was slung across a pole leaned against a tree. The graining was done with a horse rib or split deer shank.

drink much. I wanted lots of water, but only drank a little. Soon we came to a white man's ranch. There was no one here so I guess they were killed by the Warm Springs people. But there were springs here, so we all made camp at this place about sundown. The pack mules were way behind and did not get in till evening. The officer made a count, and there were ten scouts missing who had become exhausted a way back. One scout said I should go back and take water to them, as some of these missing scouts were my relatives.

We filled five of our canteens and five soldiers' canteens; the officers' canteens were larger. I packed these and started back, carrying my rifle. The officer called me back and said to leave my rifle behind. He gave me his pistol and belt instead. I also led one horse. There was lots of brush in the canyon, and it looked as though a bear might jump out at me. Soon I met five of the scouts; they had found a burro and were taking turns riding double on it. I gave them some water and the horse I was leading and continued alone down the canyon to find the other five. The mule acted as though he didn't want to go and kept shying at things. I stopped a while under a tree and listened. The mule heard something and pricked up his ears. Pretty soon I could hear someone laugh. I knew right away it was Becn, one of the scouts. Then all five of the scouts came along. They saw me and shouted, "Who's there, an Indian?" I said "Yes, it is me." The sergeant was with them. "I'm glad to see you now," he said. I had five canteens with me, and I gave them these. We all started back to camp, taking turns riding double on my mule. After a while it came my turn to ride again. There was only one of these men who did not ride; he refused. When we got to camp, the officers were still up playing cards. The head officer asked if everybody was in now, and we answered, "Yes." I took the mule over to the horse herd and turned him loose. I thought, now I will get some good beef stew and other food, but when I got to camp, there was only some coffee and bad soft bread left, half burnt. It was about midnight now, but anyway I

got some bacon and fixed up some beef with it and ate the burnt bread.

The next morning they butchered two steers for the soldiers and scouts. We scouts went over where the white man was butchering and got all the guts. These we took back and put in the fire to cook. Right then the officer called to us to start out. We just stayed and waited for the guts to get cooked. The officer got off his horse and coming over to our fire, threw all the cooking guts out and scattered our fire. Then we all started, going along with five scouts on each side. In a while we came to some springs on a mesa. There was some bitter weed growing there. We unpacked the mules and started to cook. A white soldier came over to us and told us to come and get some meat, so we went over and got two front quarters of beef. At this camp we stayed all day, eating lots and then taking a sweat bath.³¹ Next day we started off and got lunch at a place by some springs. There was a white sergeant coming on behind, who heard two shots fired up on the mountain. Now no one was supposed to shoot his gun, as the Warm Springs people might hear it and run away. The two shots were fired by two of the scouts. They had seen a big animal at the foot of a bluff. "What is that?" they asked. It was an elk, and they shot it. They were afraid to go to it because of the officers getting after them about shooting. They came on back to camp, and there the officers made them return with a mule to get the elk. The officers did not punish these scouts. They gave the hind quarters to the soldiers, and we got the front. We stayed at this place four days, looking for a sign of the Warm Springs people. There was a citizen in charge of us scouts, and he took all of us out to reconnoiter, except four who were left behind to cook. We traveled down by a creek where there were lots of cattle. We asked the citizen chief scout about

³¹ Sweat baths were taken to cure certain sicknesses, as well as for reasons of cleanliness. The sweat lodge was a dome-shaped framework of sticks, bent over and tied in place, just big enough for three or four men. The frame was covered with blankets. Rocks were heated and taken inside where water was thrown over them, thus creating steam.

killing one of these cattle to eat. He said that they had given orders not to do any shooting, and he did not see how we could get the cattle without shooting them. "All right then," we said, "we will kill them with a knife—hamstring them and then cut their throats." All of us scouts started out to surround the cattle, but they ran out and broke through us. We all ran after them. One man caught hold of a cow's tail while she was running, took out his knife, and hamstrung her just above the hock. Another man caught one by the tail and hamstrung it just back of the ankle above the hoof. This way we got two. They were fat cattle, and we butchered them right there and started cooking. The meat looked good but tasted like bitter weed as the cattle had been eating a lot of these plants which grew here. What we wanted most was the hide for our mocassin soles. This was divided up, enough for one pair of soles each. Then we wrapped the meat up in what was left of the hides, slung it on poles and carried it back to camp. The soldiers saw we were carrying something and all came out to see what it was. The white chief of scouts had ridden on ahead of us and told the officer what we had done, that we had killed two beeves. That evening the officer said he wanted to see all the scouts. We all went over after supper. The officer said, "I heard you killed two steers. You did well. You didn't shoot at all. That's the right way." The next day twelve of us went out to reconnoiter again. We saw a mother elk and her calf up on the mountain. There used to be lots of elk in the Mogollon Mountains.

We left this camp, the scouts going ahead and the soldiers behind. They always kept two of us scouts at the head of the column of soldiers. I was one of these today. Two horses got away from the soldiers, but were finally put back in the bunch. This delayed us a little. Soon we could see a lumber house. There was a slip of paper stuck in a near-by post that the citizen scout had left. At the foot of the post were the heads of five white people. A man and his family had been living here, and the Warm Springs people killed them all. It was the same band of Warm Springs people

that had killed Richard Bylas' uncle. This was the band that we were trying to find. There was also a bag of laundry soap here. One of the soldiers took this and packed it on a mule.

At this place, where there was a little canyon with a creek in it, the scouts who had gone on before us found some burro tracks. They all had started out to run to where the burro was. Those same two men who had shot the elk got there first and started to argue over which one of them should have the burro. They got mad and shot the burro twice. We could hear the two shots from where we were with the soldiers. They sounded over from behind some black, rocky, brushy hills, and we didn't know if it were the Warm Springs people or not. The scout sergeant ran back to tell us what had happened. He came out on top of the hill just above us. The soldiers thought it was a Warm Springs man and pretty nearly shot him, but he yelled that he was a scout, so the officer stopped the soldiers. We made camp that day in a canyon at a place where the other scouts had already stopped. After supper the officer called all us scouts over to his camp. The soldiers were lined up, three companies of them. There were four officers and one army doctor. The head officer spoke. He said, "These two scouts killed an elk two days ago, but then I did not say anything about it and gave them another chance. Today the same two shot a burro. It seems to me as if they were trying to help the Warm Springs people and warn them by shooting this way. Tomorrow I am going to discharge these two, send them back home and take their rifles, canteens, and cartridge belts from them." One of these men was related to our sergeant, who said that he did not want these scouts sent back. The officer would not listen to him. All of us scouts did not want these two men sent home, as they were far from home and might get killed by wild animals on the way back. The sergeant said that if these two men were discharged, we all might as well turn in our outfit and start back tomorrow. The officers talked among themselves, and I guess they changed their minds because the head officer said, "All right, we will keep these two men,

but from now on they will have to take the place at the head of the column." Next morning we started out.

These last few days we had been traveling south along the east side of the Mogollon Mountains. Now we crossed over a spur on the east side and went up through a little pass. There was a lot of brush here, and the soldiers had to cut a way in it so the horses and packs could get through. There were lots of deer, but none of us shot. We scouts waited in front for the soldiers to come up. Soon there was a tall, pointed rock we could see, standing straight up ahead of us. Right at the foot of it there was a sort of doorway, like the entrance to a wickiup. In front of this door was a low stone wall about two feet high. Some of the scouts went near this door. It smelled very bad inside. On the rock around and above the door were drawn pictures. There was the morning star, the Pleiades, and the new moon drawn there. On one side above the door was a buck deer and on the other side a female deer with its young one. All around both of these were figures of "Gans,"³² holding some long things in their hands. They wore no headdresses. These pictures were high on the rock, about fifteen feet above us, and I don't see how the people who drew them were able to put them there. It looked as though the rock must have grown up since the pictures were made. The officers looked at them through their field glasses. I was talking with a Chiricahua about this place one time, and he said that the Warm Springs people always used to stop here on their way by and pray to the Gans. He said his grandmother knew about that place.

We started down from here into a canyon. The officers gave us scouts two cartridges each, one to kill a turkey, and one for a deer. They made camp in the canyon, and we scouts brought in lots of deer, all white tails. We shot our own cartridges as well as those two the officer gave us. Next day we circled around into a canyon where there was water

³² The Gans are the supernatural beings who are represented by the dancers in the Gan Dance (more commonly known as "Devil Dance"). These supernatural beings are said to live in the mountains or in clouds up in the sky. Their aid may be evoked in curing certain sicknesses.

and lots of cottonwood trees. We had crossed the hills and arrived there about dark. At this place we stayed four days and sent and received a letter from a place quite a distance from here, an army post where there were quite a few Negro soldiers. There was a white man living near our camp who had a lot of whiskey. Some of the soldiers and scouts got drunk on it. The soldiers' cook was drunk the next morning. The four officers were together, getting on their horses. A little distance away was a big, tall soldier; he was drunk and yelling and making a show. One of the officers got off, told a sergeant to tie this man's legs and arms and to tie him to a tree because he was drunk. They did so. The officer went back to his horse. The drunk soldier was crying about being tied up, and I guess he said something bad to his officer. The officer took up a stick and went back to the tied man. The soldier said, "Don't hit me when I am tied this way. Turn me loose." The officer told the sergeant to turn him loose. He did so, but the soldier still had a piece of rope tied to his wrist. He jumped on the officer, ripped his shirt and vest and knocked him on the ground. The other officers came over and pulled him off, picked the officer up, tied his shirt together, and took him away. Then one of the officers came back and with the sergeant took the drunk soldier to the edge of a water hole so that if the soldier moved he would fall in the water.

We stayed here and repaired our mocassins. From here we moved near the present location of Clifton, toward the Gila River. We saw lots of black tail deer on the way. One deer came near us, a big one, and fell dead. An old man who was a scout said, "There, that deer will be mine,"³³ and he went over to it. But there was a scout following the deer, and he told us all to keep away from it as he had shot it. The hide was big and we wanted it. The man took out his knife and slashed the hide in several places so it couldn't be used. The meat was fat and showed through the slits,

³³ When hunting it is not the custom for a man who killed a deer to claim it for himself. Instead one of his companions would claim the deer.

but the hide was no good now, so only the meat was taken. We killed lots of deer and antelope that day, and the packs were loaded with them. When we got into our camping place, there was one great big deer on a pack. Two soldiers grabbed it to take for themselves, but some of us scouts grabbed the other side. Our sergeant was with us. We each wanted the deer and stood pulling at it. Finally they made us give it to the soldiers. Our sergeant was discharged later on account of this. There was a white man's farm at this place with milk cows and planted fields. After supper we went to see it. The white men were churning some milk and gave us a slice of what they were making; it was like cheese. They had corn fields here, and the corn was already on the stalk. Just about sundown that soldier who had been drunk and was now a prisoner was brought in by two sergeants. Next day we moved on down the river and camped at a mountain across the Gila River from Solomonville. This place is right between two bluffs, and the springs are always running there. The prisoner got in after sundown again. The next day we moved near the present location of Safford. In those days there were only a few white men living in that part of the Gila Valley, and there were no towns at all. The day after that we got into Fort Thomas. Here they put the prisoner in irons and sent him off some place. The next day we scouts were lined up. Fifteen of us quit, and some more were discharged.



THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF ARIZONA

ANSON PEACELY-KILLEN SAFFORD

By EUGENE E. WILLIAMS

The Green Mountain State furnished territorial Arizona one governor, but that governor held the office longer than any other incumbent. He also had the distinction of being the smallest man to occupy the gubernatorial chair, being five feet and six inches in height.

Born at Hyde Park, Vermont, the son of David and Lydia (Peacely-Killen) Safford, February 14, 1830, Anson Peacely-Killen Safford, began his life on a farm. Like many boys of his day he was denied the privilege of a college education, but by attendance for a short time at the public schools, by home study, by observation, and by travel he acquired information that made him an educated man. It did more; it made him feel the necessity of every American child having an education, and was the chief incentive which prompted him to do so much for the public schools of Arizona.

At the age of eight he accompanied his parents to Crete, Illinois, which at that time was in the far west. Here he assisted his father on the farm and occasionally attended the district school. His days in school were few, for his parents were poor and needed his help on the farm.

In 1850, at the age of twenty, young Safford, lured by the discovery of gold, made the long and arduous trip to California. For ten years he was interested in mining, working most of the time in the gold fields of Nevada County.

While working in the mines he applied himself to the study of civic affairs. His interest in these matters induced his fellow citizens to elect him, on the Republican ticket, a member of the state legislature. He served in this capacity from 1856 to 1858. While not serving his district in the legislature he was employed in his mining interests. From 1859 to 1862 he was engaged in business in San Francisco.

Safford's pioneer spirit and his interest in mining induced him to migrate, in 1862, to the famous mining fields of Nevada. Here he was engaged in developing the district.



Anson P. K. Safford.

Safford was not an ordinary miner; he read books while others played faro; while others drank poor whisky he employed his time and money in useful pursuits. Observing his sober, studious habits, his fellow citizens elected him recorder of Humbolt County, and also mining recorder. These positions he held with credit to himself and his supporters.

Like most pioneer settlements, Nevada was troubled by depredations of the Indians. Raids became so numerous and so destructive of life and property that Safford frequently led companies of citizens to pursue and punish the hostiles. Often these trips imposed

great hardships, but his was an uncomplaining nature.

His eager craving for an education, and his overtaxed health, led him to pursue his quests in Europe, where he traveled for two years (1865-1867).

Upon his return to Nevada in 1867 President Johnson appointed him surveyor-general of Nevada, which position he held until he came to Arizona.

Safford's experiences in California and Nevada helped to prepare him for the great work of his life in the pioneer Territory of Arizona. Not having satisfied his pioneer spirit he applied to President Grant for the governorship of Arizona. Interested friends interceded in his behalf and Grant gave him the appointment. He thereupon resigned

his office of surveyor-general and moved to his new home. His commission was signed by President Grant April 7, 1869, but the new governor did not arrive at Tucson, the seat of government, until June 20.

At the time Safford came to Arizona the "Old Pueblo" of Tucson, though an Indian and Mexican hamlet of uncertain age, had been an incorporated American village only five years. Most of the inhabitants were Mexicans, a small percentage of whom were intelligent and industrious. There were a few Americans, but the largest number of its citizens were nondescript.

The territory itself was of but little more than five years of age. In fact the majority of the inhabitants had not yet learned to speak the English language.

Conditions in Arizona at the coming of Governor Safford are given by John Wasson, surveyor-general of Arizona, as follows:

He found the Territory almost in a state of anarchy. Many officers refused to obey the laws. The payment of taxes was resisted by some. The Apache Indians were atrocious in their thefts and murders and the military authorities were nearly useless. The commanding officer and many subordinates were not in sympathy with the people. Such eminent generals as Sherman and Sheridan regarded the territory about worthless and only fit for Indians. There was no public school system in operation and but one public school (at Prescott) in the whole Territory. There was not a railroad on east nearer than Kansas, and the Overland had just been completed to California. Arizona was in an uninviting condition.¹

Concerning General Sherman's opinion of Arizona, the following remarks he is reported to have made are illustrative. On one occasion he said: "We have fought one war with Mexico to acquire Arizona, and we ought to have another to compel her to take it back."

On a later visit to Arizona he was being shown the various possibilities of Arizona when someone said that all the territory lacked was society and water. Whereupon the General remarked: "That is all hell lacks."

Upon assuming the governorship Safford began to study

¹ Copy of original manuscript in files of E. E. Williams.

the condition of affairs in the territory, and with determination and tact set to work to remedy the situation. The legality of the previous legislature was questioned by not a few persons, while others almost repudiated the laws enacted. For power to enforce the laws, and for money to manage the affairs of the territory, Safford at his own expense went to Washington and made an appeal to congress for authority to discharge the duties of his office until another legislature could convene. His efforts were successful and he was given authority to carry on.

Safford had scarcely taken his seat when the depredations of the hostile Indians became such a menace to the peace and welfare of the territory that on August 31, 1869, he wrote to Major-General George H. Thomas, commanding the Military Division of the Pacific, asking for rations, arms, and ammunition for three companies of citizen volunteers. After some time the seemingly indifferent military authorities gave Safford permission to equip the citizens, and on May 2, 1870, he issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, the military forces within the Territory is inadequate to carry on an aggressively destructive war against the Apaches, or to insure the protection of life and property, even in the most populous settlements:

Now, therefore, the Government of the United States having furnished for the use of our citizens 744 improved breach loading guns, with ample ammunition, I, A. P. K. Safford, Governor of the Territory of Arizona, and Commander-in-Chief of the militia thereof, call upon every able-bodied man, subject to military duty, to immediately aid in organizing the militia in accordance with the law and with the recommendations of my proclamation of October 18th, 1869, in order that the arms may be distributed, and the militia force prepared for active service in the field, and for co-operation with the regular troops.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Territory, at Tucson, this second day of May, A. D. 1870.

A. P. K. Safford.

The reference is to the regular troops under General George Stoneman. Believing Stoneman to be inefficient, Safford, with the assistance of R. C. McCormick, Delegate to Congress, had him removed and General George Crook appointed in his place.

Safford had been in office about a year and a half when the Sixth Legislature convened at Tucson, January 11, 1871. There had been no legislature for over two years, congress having decided that hereafter only biennial sessions should be held in Arizona.

In his message to the legislature Safford called attention to the hostility of the Indians and then said: "I am of the opinion that volunteers raised among our own people, inured to the climate, acquainted with the habits of the Indians and with the country, and fighting for their homes and firesides, would be found efficient, and in the end more economical for the government than the regular troops."

The governor urged the necessity of providing the territory with good, free public schools. He also stressed the importance of mining and suggested that the industry be developed. It was his interest in the public schools that enabled Safford to make his greatest contribution to Arizona, and his investments in mining that brought him the most money.

Several bills of importance were passed, among them the following: Maricopa County was created out of Yavapai County. The governor signed the bill February 14, 1871, exactly forty-one years before Arizona became a state. Pah-Ute County, which the Second Legislature had created, was dissolved. This action was, perhaps, the only instance in the history of our nation where a county thus disappeared from the maps. Most of the former Pah-Ute County went to Nevada, and the remainder to Mohave County. Had Pah-Ute County been retained by Arizona much of her later contention concerning the Boulder Dam might have been lessened. It was this legislature that passed a law which laid the foundation of Arizona's public schools.

On January 6, 1873, the Seventh Legislature met at Tucson and elected J. P. Hargrave, President of the Council, and G. H. Oury, Speaker of the House.

In Governor Safford's message he stressed the following: the public schools of the territory had shown gratifying results and he urged a larger appropriation for their maintenance. He stated that during the past two years the

Apaches had been plundering and murdering, and he commended the work of General Howard and General Crook in their efforts to deal with a trying situation.

Doubtless the most sensational—though not the most important—act of the legislature was the divorcing of Governor Safford from his wife, Jenny L. Tracy. The governor signed the bill.

The Eighth Legislature met at Tucson, January 6, 1875. The Seventh had added to the governor's duties the position of Superintendent of Public Instruction, consequently when Safford made his report it was in connection with his message as governor. The report showed that the territory had received for school purposes the sum of \$22,800 and had spent \$20,200. It also showed an increase in the number of pupils in the schools. There were nine teachers employed in the territory, and almost every district had free schools.

The governor recommended the judicious taxing of the net proceeds of the mines. He reported that the 1874 census showed a total white population in Arizona of 11,480. A gratifying feature of the message was that the territory was out of debt.

The Eighth passed, among other acts, the following: offered \$3,000 reward to the first person sinking a successful artesian well; located the territorial prison at Yuma and appropriated \$25,000 to erect buildings; provided for a school census; created Pinal County; taxed net proceeds of the mines, which was the beginning of the controversy known as the "Bullion Mine Tax."

The Ninth Legislature which convened in January, 1877, was the last to be held at Tucson; it was also Safford's last legislature.

In his message the governor rejoiced in the increasing population, wealth, and industry of the territory. He gave the information that public education had greatly increased during the past two years, and that the mining industry had never been in as good condition. He advised against "the pernicious practice of legislation based upon combination of trading."

The following are the most important results of the Ninth Legislature: moved the capital from Tucson back to Prescott; repealed an act regulating the sale of liquor; provided that insane persons be cared for in California; authorized the governor to enroll a company of thirty whites and thirty Indians to punish hostile Indians; it also granted many divorces; the governor vetoed a bill to build a road from Phoenix to Globe, but it was passed over his veto.

It was during this legislature that the Southern Pacific Railroad was given a franchise to operate in Arizona. There was considerable lobbying in connection with the bill and charges of trickery made by its opponents. Safford's connection with the passage of the measure was later to help defeat him for a second appointment as governor of Arizona.

During Safford's term, which extended from April 7, 1869, to April 5, 1877, numerous events of importance took place in the territory. The following are worthy of mention:

(1) Maricopa County created: On February 14, 1871, the Sixth Legislature passed the bill creating Maricopa County, and on the same day it was signed by Governor Safford, who, on February 21, appointed temporary officers for the county.

(2) Removal of capital to Prescott: The Ninth Legislature in 1877 passed a bill, which Safford signed, removing the capital from Tucson to Prescott, which had been the first capital of the territory.

(3) The Peace Commission: In 1871 the Apaches as usual were giving the settlers of Arizona considerable trouble, and in June General Crook took command of the forces to subdue the hostiles. He was almost immediately halted in his work by instructions from the government to suspend operations pending the report of a Peace Commission which had been sent to investigate Indian affairs in New Mexico and Arizona. When Governor Safford was notified of the coming of this commission he issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, I am informed, as I am departing for the Pinal Mountains with a large force for the purpose of exploring the agricultural and mineral resources of that region, that a commission has been ordered by the President of the United States, to examine into the Indian affairs of the Territory, with a view, if possible, of securing a peaceful solution of the question, and my absence may continue until after the arrival of said commission, and

Whereas, the object most desired by the people of this Territory is the cessation of Indian hostilities, and the means which will most speedily accomplish this result will be hailed with joy by every inhabitant.

Now, therefore, I, A. P. K. Safford, Governor of Arizona, call upon the officers and citizens of the Territory to receive said Commissioners with kindness and hospitality; to give them all aid and information upon such subjects before referred to within your power and knowledge. They have been selected with a view to their integrity and humanity of purpose, and sent here in the legal performance of duty. If they come among you entertaining erroneous opinions upon the Indian question and the condition of affairs in the Territory, then, by kindly treatment, and fair, truthful representation, you will be enabled to convince them of their errors.

Given under my hand and the great seal of the Territory, this 15th day of August, A. D. 1871.

A. P. K. Safford.

When the Commissioner, Vincent Colyer, came to Arizona he did not consult the governor nor the citizens who were most interested, but took things into his own hands, made his investigation, and presented his report. In this report he blamed the whites for most of the trouble with the Indians and allotted the Indians to reservations of the commissioner's own choosing. His attitude toward Safford is shown by the following quotation from his report:

That the massacre at Camp Grant fairly illustrates the sentiment of a large portion of the people of Arizona and New Mexico on the Indian question, is painfully confirmed by the fact that nearly every newspaper here has either justified or apologized for the act. That the President's "peace policy," so popular in the States, does not meet with much approval out here is unquestionably true; and anyone who comes here to execute it must expect to meet with disappointment and disapprobation. I have been met with a storm of abuse from these newspapers in their every issue; but, thank God, it does not harm me, and though I have received positive assurance that my life would be in danger if I visited certain localities, yet, as much of this is probably bluster, I should go there if my official duties required it.

Probably I should not have referred to these threats if the Governor of the Territory, A. P. K. Safford, Esq., had not taken the precaution to issue a "proclamation" in the "Arizona Citizen," calling upon the people to treat the Commissioner "kindly," as tho the governor supposed they were not likely to treat us kindly, unless he took some such extraordinary means as this to induce them to do so. This proclamation . . . a manifesto so remarkable that we thought, in kindness to the Governor, the less notice we took of it the better.²

(4) Public school system: Perhaps Safford's greatest contribution to Arizona was his efforts in behalf of the free public schools of the territory. Respecting these schools and the effort to place them on a firmer basis Governor Safford said:

Upon assuming the duties of the office of Governor in the year 1869, I found that several previous legislatures had enacted school laws, but in none had any positive provisions been made to sustain public schools. It having been left optional with school trustees, and county boards of supervisors to levy a school tax or not. The result was that no means were provided, and no schools were organized. I saw clearly that the first and most important measure to adopt, was to provide the means by making the tax compulsory and as certain as the revenue for carrying on the machinery of the government. I at once, after assuming the duties of my office, began to agitate the subject. The first legislature convened in 1871. I prepared a school bill and presented it to the members as soon as they assembled. Scarcely a member looked on it with favor. They argued that the Apaches were overrunning the country; that thru murder and robbery the people were in poverty and distress; that repeated attempts had been made to organize schools, and that failure had always resulted. To these objections I replied that the American people could, and ultimately would subdue the Apaches; that unless we educated the rising generation we should raise up a population no more capable of self-government than the Apaches themselves; and that the failure to establish schools had been the result of imperfect statutes during the entire period.³

Samuel McCrea in his unpublished manuscript, "The Establishment of the Arizona School System,"⁴ gives an account of Safford's efforts in behalf of establishing and maintaining schools. He says:

² T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona*, vol. 8, pp. 247-8, 297.

³ S. B. Weeks, *History of Public School Education in Arizona*, p. 19.

⁴ Manuscript in State Historian's office at Capitol.

Let no one imagine that these vigorous frontier characters were readily won over to a new policy, they were of far sterner stuff than that. The message of the governor to his first Legislature was an able and inspiring document for the cause of education. Nothing was left unsaid which would be apt to move men. In his opinion, education was next in importance to the all-absorbing Indian question. He prefaced his arguments with the humiliating acknowledgment that the recent Federal census showed 1923 school children in Arizona, and yet not a public school in operation in the Territory. He was glad to commend the excellent work done by S. C. Rogers, schoolmaster at Prescott, and by the Sisters of St. Joseph in their recently founded school at Tucson, already enrolling 130 girls; but he made plain the fact that the great work of the Assembly was the founding of a system of "free public schools" supported by compulsory taxation, sufficient in amount to furnish at least six months school in every district. He spoke of the valuable donation of school books, furnished him each year by a liberal New York publishing house, which he had distributed to the grateful children of the Territory, and suggested that a small appropriation for school books for free distribution would be of great advantage. He did not fail to emphasize their opportunity, by founding schools, to do a work by which they should win a lasting remembrance.

But the governor was master of other resources than those of argument, and among these none was more important than his personal influence, which was used freely for this school bill, which he was so anxious to have enacted into law. . . . He wisely secured the services of Hon. Estevan Ochoa, probably the most prominent Mexican of that day in Arizona, to bring forward his school bill. This man was generally respected, and his great personal influence, and the spectacle of a citizen of that race presenting an educational measure in an American Assembly ought to have spurred his neighbors to action. Somehow it did not, and the bill received but half-hearted support. Nothing daunted, the governor redoubled his efforts, and we have the statement of his hard-won success in his own words: "Finally on the last day of the session they passed the bill, after striking out nearly all the revenue which had been provided. The measure was the best that could be secured, and had to be accepted as it was."

The school law of 1871 was simple but effective, and has formed the basis of all later school laws of the Territory. Much power was put into the hands of the Governor, who was wisely made ex-officio Supt. of Public Instruction. He apportioned the Territorial tax to the several counties, and for the first two years recommended, in reality fixing within certain limits, the additional amount of school money which should be raised by them. He appointed the Probate Judges of the several counties, who, by the law as ex-officio County Supts. of schools, had general control of school affairs. He also appointed the County Boards of Examiners, who assisted the County Supts. in examining and

licensing teachers. The Governor as Supt. of Public Instruction was allowed a sum not to exceed \$500 a year for actual traveling expenses when visiting schools, consulting with school officials, and lecturing on education. The highest authority was lodged in a Territorial Board of Education composed of the Governor, Secretary of the Territory and the Territorial Treasurer of which body the Governor was chairman. As the Treasurer was one of his own appointees, he could control the policy of this Board.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the Assembly the Governor entered upon a wonderful educational crusade. Notwithstanding the inadequate means of travel, the widely scattered population and the hostile Apaches, every part of the Territory was visited, and every effort was made to encourage the people to organize public schools under the new law. A desire for schools began to appear among the people, and under the able leadership of this masterful man, the good work was at last begun. There were no teachers, and no school books except the few brought in by the Governor some months before. All had to be procured in the older states. In his labors he was ably seconded by the Probate Judges of the respective counties whom he had named to assist him in this important work.

Probably the first school under the new law was opened early in March, 1871, in Tucson, by John Spring. . . . Governor Safford showed his interest in this educational experiment in his capital in various ways. He presented the school with two dozen Ollendorf's Grammars. Mr. Spring does not fail to pay a hearty tribute to the man who made the school possible. He says, "In conclusion I beg leave to say that all my hard work was made lighter, and all my efforts were more efficient by the constant kind help and advice of Gov. A. P. K. Safford, whose memory this and all future generations should forever revere as the 'Father of Our Public Schools.'"

This tribute of McCrea to Safford's labors in behalf of the public schools of Arizona is justified by what he continued to do. In 1873 he brought Miss Maria Wakefield and Miss Harriet Bolton of Stockton, California, to Tucson to teach in the public schools. After teaching for some time Miss Wakefield married E. N. Fish and Miss Bolton became the wife of John Wasson, Surveyor-General of Arizona.

During the same year that these capable ladies came to Tucson Safford persuaded Prof. Moses H. Sherman to leave the old established schools of Safford's native Vermont and try his skill with the youths of the young village of Prescott. It is claimed that the governor sent Sherman the

money to make the arduous trip to Arizona. Sherman inaugurated at Prescott the first graded school in Arizona.

This same year there were also schools at Florence, Ehrenberg, Yuma, and Phoenix. The first school statistics of Arizona are contained in the 1873 report of Governor Safford as Commissioner of Education.

Concerning the efforts of parochial schools to secure some of the public money, Governor Safford wrote: "At this session (1875) an attempt was made to divide the school funds for the benefit of sectarian schools. The measure though ardently supported by the Chief Justice of the Territory (E. T. Dunne) was defeated by a large majority of the Legislature." Three fifths or more of the people of Arizona were Mexicans, or those born in other foreign countries. Add to this the number of citizens who had married Mexicans and it is apparent the fight Safford had on his hands to preserve the public schools.

Because of this large number of Mexicans in Arizona, Safford learned to speak the Spanish language in order better to understand their needs. He was always interested in the life and struggles of the common people. Though very careful of his clothing and genteel in his personal habits he never forgot his own early poverty. He traveled over practically the whole of the territory and was personally known to most of the settlers. It was no uncommon event for the chief executive, like kings of old, to share the frugal meal of the pioneer. Astride his horse, or riding in his buckboard, the "Little Governor" went from place to place. No escort accompanied him, and his only protection was his trusty shotgun by his side and the kindly smile upon his face. By his courteous, friendly manners he endeared himself to the people of Arizona, thus enabling him to serve the best interests of all concerned.

His devotion to the interests of Arizona is revealed by the fact that, after serving the territory for eight years, the only wealth he had acquired was a pair of mules and a buckboard.

No man holding public office for the length of time Safford did could escape the uncomplimentary remarks some-

times made about public officials. Fish, in his manuscript, has the following to say concerning Safford:

Safford became very popular as the father of Arizona's school laws, but his tendency to favor large corporations showed in a bad light for some time after his term had expired. . . . Notwithstanding his great labor for schools and other institutions in the fore part of his term the latter part was clouded by a quarrel with General Kautz upon the Indian question. While both parties meant well, this quarrel worked very much against the settlement of the Indian question, and in many ways had a bad effect both with the Indians on the reservation and the hostiles. Governor Safford was very much opposed to General Kautz's policy. He accused him of inefficiency in Indian warfare against the renegades, and in his message of 1877 called on the Legislature to raise a force of militia or Indian scouts to protect the country, since the military was doing nothing. This started a quarrel between the Governor and the General and both parties wrote letters for the newspapers, and Safford made an effort to have Kautz removed. The General defended himself at length in his regular report.

Fish is also the authority for the statement that when, in 1889, Safford desired to be appointed governor of Arizona a letter which he was purported to have written to the president of the Southern Pacific railway was unearthed. This letter informed the railway president that he had overestimated what it cost to "fix" an Arizona legislature and that he was returning \$20,000 of the \$25,000 sent Safford. This information got to President Harrison and Safford's chances were destroyed. Most persons consulted think that Fish was mistaken, though there are those who report that they have heard the accusation and believe it.

Safford was always interested in mining. It was the discovery of gold that led him to California in 1850 where he spent eight years in mining, and then went to Nevada when the boom was on. In Arizona he was interested in mining from the beginning of his residence there. He was a friend to the miner, and numerous prospectors were the beneficiaries of his liberality. Safford's friend, John S. Vosburg, was a gunsmith at Tucson, and the governor instructed him to render any possible assistance to trustworthy miners needing aid.

One night in 1877 three men called at Vosburg's⁵ gunshop and asked to see him in private requesting that the door be locked. They gave their names as Ed and Al Schieffelin and Dick Gird. The men told Vosburg that Safford had suggested that Vosburg would assist them in their mining enterprise. He was told that they had good reason to believe they had found paying ore. Vosburg took the men across the street and told the storekeeper to give them what they asked up to \$300.

The three men went to the Huachuca Mountains where previously they had found ore. Further prospecting resulted in the discovery of the famous mines in the vicinity of Tombstone. Safford was in the East at the time and a message from Vosburg urged him to procure capital and return to Arizona. Safford interested the Corbin brothers of New Britain, Connecticut, and with these men and Prof. Cox, a geologist of Indiana, he arrived on the scene.

Vosburg took Safford to a near-by hilltop where they could see the surrounding country and where they could be in private to talk. Safford was convinced of the value of the claim. The easterners were also convinced and they purchased the interests of the Schieffelin brothers. Gird later sold his interest for twice the amount the Schieffelins had received and divided with the Schieffelin brothers. The total received approximated \$1,000,000.

Safford had considerable holdings in the mines and for some time was president of the new company known as The Tombstone Gold and Silver Milling & Mining Company. Later he disposed of his interests realizing about \$140,000 by the transaction.

Immediately following Safford's relinquishment of the governorship he interested himself in mining. Following the selling of his Tombstone property he left Arizona in the early eighties going to Philadelphia and New York where he interested capitalists in the development of a four million-acre tract of land at Tarpon Springs, Florida. He

⁵ F. C. Lockwood, *Arizona Characters*, p. 183.

devoted the remainder of his life to the improvement of the land and the development of the town.

Never having had good health, he overtaxed his strength and died at the age of sixty-one at Tarpon Springs, December 15, 1891, following a lingering illness. His body was laid to rest in the town he had just helped to establish, and a thousand-pound granite boulder from his native Vermont marks his grave. At the time of his death Safford was a member of the Universalist Church and was especially interested in spiritualism.

The following facts will reveal something of his home life and his interest in unfortunates. He was the son of David and Lydia Safford. He had one brother, Alfred B. Safford, a banker at Cincinnati, Ohio, who married a Miss Candee. There was a sister, Dr. Mary J. Safford, of Boston, Massachusetts, who at her death was buried beside her brother at Tarpon Springs.

Safford was married three times. His first wife was Jennie L. Tracy, from whom he was divorced by the legislature in 1873. The marriage ceremony took place at the governor's mansion in the presence of several ladies and gentlemen of Tucson, the divorce occurred in the halls of the legislature in the presence of the lawmakers.

His second wife was Miss Margarita Grijalva of Magdalena, Sonora, Mexico, whom he married at Tucson, December 19, 1877. She died in New York City in January, 1880, at the birth of a daughter, Margarita, and was buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in that city.

At Tucson late in 1881 he married Miss Soledad Bonillas, sister of Ygnacio Bonillas, and took her to his home in New York City. Some time after Safford's death she married W. W. Barken, and later became the wife of S. B. Martin. She died at Tarpon Springs, Florida, March 24, 1931.

Safford left one child, a daughter, Margarita, who graduated at Smith College in 1903. She lives in Boston, Massachusetts, where she operates a bookshop for boys and girls. Miss Safford is an accomplished violinist.

About the time Safford left Arizona he adopted a boy, Leandro T. Taft, whom he educated and made one of his

heirs. Leandro married a teacher from Philadelphia and resided in that city until he went to San Francisco. Leandro is a half brother of Fernando B. Maldonado, a prominent merchant of San Francisco.

Governor Safford and his sister, Dr. Mary Safford, adopted a baby girl, Gladys, whom he made one of his heirs.

FROM THE OLD NEWSPAPER FILES

NATIVE SILVER FROM SONORA

From *San Francisco Weekly Chronicle*—August 25, 1855.

The San Joaquin Republic mentions that T. Robinson Bours and Co. of Stockton have received a fine specimen of virgin silver from the Mexican department of Sonora. The region in which it was found is called Planchas de Plata, situated about latitude 31 N., longitude 111 W., some thirty miles south of the new boundary line of Sonora formed by the Gadsden Treaty.

The specimen at Stockton weighed five ounces. It was found on the surface of the ground. Another lump, found at the same time and weighing 237 ounces, was sent for exhibition to the City of Mexico. Owing to the fear inspired by the constant depredations of the Apaches, the explorations set on foot subsequent to these discoveries, have as yet produced no further fruits, but the belief is very general in Sonora that in this region abound more silver and gold than in any other hitherto known.

Letters have been addressed to the firm named, offering them power to sell immense tracts of land, some of them lying within the newly acquired territory. One of these tracts is at the juncture of the Gila and Colorado rivers embracing five square leagues. Another called Sopori contains thirty square leagues, near the Presidio of Tubac, about thirty leagues north of the line of the Gadsden Purchase. The tract on the Colorado is known by the name of Paso de Algodones, and part of the same is comprised within the boundary line run in pursuance of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and by the Gadsden Treaty the entire tract is within the territory of the United States. Another important tract is south of the line and embraces the only port on the Gulf of California, north of Guamas. It is named Punta de Sargento.

REMINISCENSES OF JUAN I. TÉLLEZ

(as told to Mrs. George F. Kitt)

My great grandfather came from El Paso to Arizona in very early days while it was still part of Mexico. My father was born in Tucson and so were all of his children including myself. We children, four boys and four girls, were all born on Main Street right where Elias' corral now stands (west side, between Messila and Broadway).

My grandfather owned 160 acres of land where the Indian school now stands. The Indians sometimes raided the place and drove off all the cows and left only the calves. He had a big reservoir there made of dirt. The water ran back half a mile and was enough to irrigate all the land. My father sold the place to Pedro Aguirre, he sold to a relation of Royal A. Johnson, and he to the Presbyterian Mission.

My mother was born in Santa Cruz just across the line in Mexico. Her name was Silveria Márquez and she owned a share in the original San Rafael Grant. I know we had many cows there when I was a boy and that my father helped to pay the taxes for a great many years but for some reason when it was sold to Cameron we did not get anything out of it.

My father died March 23, 1890. He was quite wealthy at one time. We owned my grandfather's ranch. Then after we sold it father homesteaded a ranch fifteen miles east of Tucson on the Pantano Wash. That was sometime in the eighties. We also owned one lot on Fourth Avenue, a half block on Main between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, another lot on Eighteenth Street between Main and Ninth Avenue, and the home on Main which at one time belonged to E. N. Fish, also fifty-two acres on St. Mary's Road across the river.

As a boy I went to the Tucson private schools and then for ten months I went to Industrial College in Lawrence, Kansas. My father sent me there because he was a great friend of Sam Hughes and he recommended it. Mr. Hughes took me there but I could not stand the climate; got malaria and had to come home. When I returned I went to school under John Spring.

Mr. Spring was a very bright man and a good teacher and I learned bookkeeping. I could make any kind of accounts then. If I had gone on with my profession and gone into a store I would have been better off than I am today. But I liked to ride broncos and I liked to be free so I spent lots of time on the ranch. I am a poor man now but I have never worked for anybody but myself. I still have six good horses and some wagons but they do not make me a living and I am living by my debts.

I can remember much Indian trouble, some that my father and grandfather told me and some that I had myself.

I was a small boy at the time of the Camp Grant massacre but I can remember some things about it and some things my father told me. He was one of the party. They met near Cabadilla ranch and went through the pass. There were many Indians and not quite so many Mexicans and Americans, pretty nearly as many Americans as Mexicans. Among the Americans were Jimmy Lee, Sam Hughes, Chas. Shibell, Jim Douglas (Mrs. Tilly Sutherland's father), Bill Oury, and lots of others.

On their way back they met an Arivaipa Apache driving off a fine buckskin race horse which belonged to a man in Tucson. The horse was being ridden by a big squaw and a little girl. They shot the squaw and one of the men was leading the girl off by the hand, for he was going to keep her, when Placido Soza up with his gun and shot her. They also had a yoke of oxen and this proved that it was the Arivaipa Indians who were doing the stealing and killing.

Indians were often seen around my grandfather's ranch—the one on this side of the river just east of Cat Mountain where the Indian school now stands. There were several ranches right there together; Mrs. Guadalupe Pacheco's,

Mrs. Wm. Oury's, Ramón Castro's and José Herrera's, and they built their houses all within hailing distance of each other. My father's was on the northeast corner of his land. The houses were built with a four-foot wall extending above the flat dirt roof to be used as breastworks. There were holes in the wall and a ladder of poles with smaller branches tied on with cowhide for rounds was always placed against the wall. The corrals were close to the house and made of brush piled between upright posts. Around the corral on the outside was a ditch deep enough that the cattle would not jump it should the fence be torn down. All of this was to make it as hard as possible for the Indians to get the cattle which were locked in these corrals at night and herded in the daytime. The calves were generally kept in the corrals all the time.

I remember once when I was about eight years old, that must have been in 1870, I was out on my grandfather's ranch when one of the men came running in to say that the Indians had gotten the cows. He and the herders from the adjoining ranches were tending the herd on the west bank of the river near what is now the Mission swimming pool when the Indians swooped down on them and drove the cattle off toward the west. My father and the other ranchers gathered as many men together as they could and went after them. Men in those days did not know what fear was. They went after the Indians in much the same spirit as football players go into the game today. They overtook the Indians in Robles Pass under Cat Mountain, beat them off and brought back the cattle. None of the men were hurt and it is impossible to say whether or not any of the Indians were hurt, as they scatter like quail in the brush and always if possible they take their dead and wounded with them. I remember that one time in particular because I was there. They even stole cattle from my father's place on Main Street between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets.

One time, a long time after the Camp Grant massacre in 1871, the citizens of Tucson got word that some Indians who had been raiding in Mexico were bringing a large band of horses and cattle up through Sasabe and would come

through Puerto del Amol (Amole Pass) in the Tucson Mountains, cross to the north point of the Santa Catalinas, and make their way to the reservation by way of Canyon del Oro. I do not know whether they were Arivaipa or San Carlos Apaches. A large party of Mexicans, I do not know how many, but my father was one of them, went out to the Puerto del Amol and waited for the Indians. When they appeared both sides began to shoot. The Mexicans got most of the horses and cattle, but whether they got any Indians or not they never knew.

I never was in but one Indian fight and I guess I would not have been in that if I had had any idea that we would ever catch up with the Indians. It was in the spring of 1886. The Indians were very bad all over the country and had been raiding in Mexico. Word was brought in early one morning that Indians had raided my father's ranch fifteen miles east of Tucson, in the Pantano Wash, and carried off the seven-year-old son of Juan Gastelo, the man in charge, and stoned the mother but did not kill her. M. G. Samaniego and R. N. Leatherwood got together fifteen or twenty men including myself and we rushed to the ranch. We rode fast and reached there about noon. We started out on the trail immediately and after going some distance found a beef that the Indians had killed, with the blood still warm. Halfway between the Téllez ranch and Martínez, ten miles from the ranch, at about 4 o'clock we ran across the Indians and surprised them eating supper. Most of them were down in a low place but some were up on higher ground with two bunches of horses each with a bell mare. Four of us, Jesus Padres, Pedro Aguirre, a soldier, and myself started after the Indians with the horses. We saw the boy on a big buckskin horse up on a knoll to our right and called to him. He was all alone and without any shirt on. The Indians had taken it. He did not seem to be at all frightened but came over to us. We fired several shots at the Indians and they left the horses and dropped down behind the rocks as if killed. We wanted to go up and get the horses but Mr. Samaniego said no, that the Indians might be fooling us. Meanwhile the other men

had driven the rest of the Indians out of the low place onto the hills and they had disappeared among the rocks. We do not know whether we killed any or not as they scattered and hid in the brush.

By that time it was quite late so we went on to the Martínez ranch and camped. In the night a lot of other men joined us. Next morning we got up very early, a long time before daylight, and went on toward Ceditello Pass as we knew that was where the Indians would go through to the San Pedro. We surprised them again at Morosco's ranch. They had left their horses on a hill to the south and were just crawling down on foot to raid the ranch. When we began to fire at them they ran back to their horses. Some stayed in the rocks on the top of the hill and shot at us while the others got away. We must have kept up the shooting for half an hour and then the Indians ran. They seemed very careful of their ammunition. I do not think they had much. Some of the men followed them into the San Pedro and as far as Tres Alamos so as to warn and help protect the ranchers but most of us went back to Tucson.

We found out later that they were a band of Apaches who had been raiding in Mexico and were run out by Lieut. Lawton. The soldiers had tracked them as far as the Rincóns.

After that Mr. Samaniego and Mr. Leatherwood formed a company of volunteers, both Mexicans and Americans, whom the government provisioned and sent out to fight. . . .

When the Confederates left Tucson in 1862 they took all the ammunition, provisions, money, etc. they could get hold of, with them. But the things were heavy and they had to move fast so they stopped at Camp Saqua, about 12 miles out on the New Mexico road and buried everything so the federals could not get it. Many people think they buried much treasure there because often on rainy nights they can see flames rising from the spot.



The Last Frontier

MRS. JOSEPHINE ALVAREZ, 55; d Tucson Oct. 21; Papago Indian, social worker among her people; bur San Xavier.

MARIANA MARQUEZ ANDRADE, 89; d Tempe Nov. 20; b Sonora, Mex.; to Tubac 1861; great granddaughter Augustino Marquez, sculptor of frieze at San Xavier; bur Tempe.

JAMES ASHBURN, 77; d Tucson Sept. 10; b Auglaize Co., Ohio; to Ariz. over 50 years ago; rancher Santa Cruz Co.; bur Tucson.

JAMES W. BAKER, 78; d Douglas Dec. 1; to Ft. Bowie 1882; soldier, railroader; bur Douglas.

NATHAN BARTH, 82; d Los Angeles Sept. 4; b Germany; to Apache Co. about 1885; freighter, Indian fighter, peace officer; bur Los Angeles.

JAMES C. BARTLETT, 74; d Tucson Nov. 26; Indian fighter; to Ariz. 1885; bur Tucson.

MRS. MARY EMMA BENSON, 68; d Claypool Nov. 16; b L. I., N. Y.; to Ft. Bowie 1888; prominent O. F. S., Pythian Sisters; bur Globe.

J. HARRY BROWN, 62; d Payson Oct. 28; cattleman and

merchant; to Prescott 1885; bur Payson.

JOHN BURRIS, 83; d Prescott Oct. 29; b Missouri 1851; peace officer Ariz. and N. M., miner; to Tombstone, 1882; bur Prescott.

MRS. ELLA JOHNSTON BURNS, 79; b Elm Grove, Wis.; widow M. G. (Mike) Burns, pioneer mining man and legislator; to Prescott 1895; bur Prescott.

LAMBERT BUTZ, 78; d Burbank, Calif., Sept. 30; b Germany; to Prescott 1893; bur Burbank.

MRS. CLEMENCY CAMPINI, 82; d Tucson Nov. 24; b Switzerland; to Cochise Co. 1875 where she and husband (deceased) ranched 25 years; bur Tucson.

HENRY CLEBURNE CAVNESS, 60; d Phoenix Nov. 9; b Texas; to Salt River Valley 1894; cattleman; bur Phoenix.

JOAQUIN CONTRERAS, over 100; d Phoenix Nov. 26; b Sonora, Mex.; to Ariz. 1855; farmer and cattleman; bur Phoenix.

BUSHROD FALBY CRAWFORD, 84; d Globe Sept. 26; b Shelbyville, Mo.; to Ariz. 1875; cattle and real estate; bur Globe.

JACOB DAY, 85; d Globe Sept. 18; b Pinal Mountains, Ariz.; Apache Indian, government scout against Geronimo and others; bur Globe.

DR. JAMES ALONZO DINES, 90; d Prescott Nov. 7; b Missouri; to northern Arizona 1883; physician, president Arizona State Pharmacy Board, mayor of Tempe; bur Tempe.

MOSE DRACHMAN, 64; d Tucson Oct. 2; b San Francisco; parents residents of Arizona from 1863; cattle, mining, and agricultural interests, banker, city councilman, state senator, university board of regents, 32d degree Mason; civic worker; bur Tucson.

THOMAS STERLING DREW, 54; d Florence Oct. 18; b Arkansas; to Ariz. 1892; cattle raiser Pinal Co.; bur Florence.

MRS. JENNIE B. ELLIOTT, 75; d Bisbee Oct. 11; b Utah; to Ariz. 1893; governess in family U. S. Sen. Carl Hayden, O. E. S.; bur Bisbee.

STERLING ELLIS, 53; d Prescott Oct. 1; b Prescott; cattleman; bur Prescott.

MRS. MARY DI FILLIPI; d Jerome Nov. 17; b Italy; to Jerome 1894; bur Jerome.

CHARLES E. FINCH, 76; d Safford Nov. 22; b California; to Florence 1871; farmer and dairyman Sulphur Springs Valley; bur Tempe.

CHARLES FREEMAN, 81; d Los Angeles Nov. 4; b England; to Ariz. as young man; contractor Globe-Miami district; bur Los Angeles.

ROBERT FRIEDEL, 81; d Phoenix Nov. 9; b Kentucky; to Phoenix 1886; builder and contractor; bur Phoenix.

JOHN M. GARDINER, 71; d San Diego, Calif., Sept. 4; b England; to Ariz. about 1885; public utilities, built first city water works at Phoenix; bur Los Angeles.

CHARLES H. HAINES, 77; d Prescott Sept. 12; b New York State; to Ash Creek, near Mayer 1881; bur Prescott.

Z. A. (UNCLE JACK) HARRIS, 83; d Phoenix Oct. 14; b Indiana; to Ariz. 1891; operated hotels Tempe, Cashion, Hayden Junction, Tolleson, Maricopa Junction; bur Phoenix.

DR. FENN J. HART, 76; d Phoenix Nov. 9; b Sherborne, Vt.; to Ariz. as U. S. physician at San Xavier, 1884; first mayor Tempe; bur Phoenix.

MRS. LOTTIE HARTSFIELD, 90; d Prescott Oct. 26; b Missouri; to Ariz. 1884; seamstress, nurse, pioneer mother; bur Prescott.

MRS. EVERGREEN TAYLOR HAYNIE, 74; d Pima Sept. 18; b Alabama; to Ariz. 1883; pioneer mother of 12 children; bur Pima.

MRS. MARY HOROVITZ, 74; d Prescott Sept. 9; b England; to Williams 1894; bur Prescott.

MRS. ANNIE E. NOON JENKINS, 63; d Escondido, Calif.; b Telegraph City, Calif.; to Santa Cruz Co. about 1880; married Alonzo E. Noon, well-known cattleman Coronado, Ariz., 1889; bur Escondido.

DR. HARRY J. JESSOP, 73; d Phoenix Oct. 12; b England; to Phoenix 1889; dentist; bur Phoenix.

MARION C. JONES, 74; d Prescott Oct. 8; b Ft. Worth, Tex.; to Ariz. 1889; Gila Co. cattleman; bur Globe.

MRS. IDA JONES, 90; d Prescott Oct. 12; b Arkansas; to vicinity Clifton, 1889; bur Prescott.

PETER JUSYONG, 81; d Prescott Nov. 25; b Denmark; to Apache Co. 1882; shoemaker, Hol-

brook, Winslow, Cottonwood; bur Jerome.

GEORGE F. KITT, 66; d Tucson Nov. 28; b England; to Tucson 1881; purchasing agent Tucson schools, wife sec'y Pioneers Historical Society; bur Tucson.

CHARLES H. KROEGER, 69; d Germany Sept. 19; b Germany; to Gila Bend 1885; former owner El Presidio Hotel, Tucson; bur Tucson.

THOMAS J. LAIRD, 75; d Whipple Sept. 14; b Wisconsin; to Ariz. about 1885; miner and prospector, Rough Rider; bur Prescott.

ADELBERT LEWIS, 73; d Tombstone Oct. 12; to Ariz. 1870; Cochise Co. rancher, mining man, Span.-Amer. War veteran; bur St. David.

WILLIAM MADISON (MATT) LYNCH, 87; d Prescott Nov. 8; b Missouri; to Yavapai Co. 1874; cattleman; bur Simmons.

MRS. ELIZABETH CLARK McBRIDE, 89; d Pima Oct. 1; to Pima 1881; mother of 12 children; bur Pima.

WILLIAM T. MARABLE, 66; d Norwalk, Calif., Nov 17; b North Carolina; to Yuma Co. 1895; bur Inglewood, Calif.

BENJAMIN MAURER, 68; d Safford Nov. 14; to Graham Co. about 1886; president Montezuma Canal Co., Mason, civic leader; bur Safford.

WALTER C. MILLER, 64; d Los Angeles, Oct. 31; b California; to Jerome 1889; president, T. F. Miller Mercantile Co., Jerome, Constable Ice and Fuel Co., Phoenix; Elk, Mason; bur Los Angeles.

JOHN MULLIGAN, 81; d Los Angeles, Nov. 12; b Boston; to Kingman 1878; mining, contracting, Elk; bur Kingman.

WINFIELD SCOTT NORVIEL, 74; d Phoenix Nov. 5; b Ohio; to Prescott 1898; lawyer, superior court judge Yavapai Co., court reporter, member state board of directors of public institutions, water commissioner, legislator, Republican, Mason; bur Phoenix.

JAMES OLMSTEAD, 77; d Prescott Sept. 6; b Kentucky; to Globe 1895; bur Prescott.

CLARENCE E. OWENS, 70; d Snowflake Sept. 5; b Fillmore, Utah; to Nutrioso 1876; Navajo Co. supervisor, prominent in L. D. S. church work; bur Snowflake.

KNIGHT PARKER, 77; d Globe Oct. 25; b Kentucky; to Phoenix 1876, later to Globe; blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright; bur Globe.

GEORGE S. PATTON, 74; d Phoenix Nov. 16; b Lawrenceville, N. Y.; to Williams 1896; lumberer, deputy sheriff Coconino Co.; bur Williams.

JOHN MARTIN PAWLEY, 78; d Phoenix Nov. 12; b Kentucky; to Blue Mts., northern Ariz. 1888; mining; bur Phoenix.

MRS. SARAH M. PERRY, 75; d Los Angeles Sept. 20; b San Rafael, Calif.; to Ariz. over 50 years ago; charity worker, widow of W. I. Perry, pioneer Arizona cattle raiser, mining man; bur Tucson.

CHARLES RILA PLUMB, about 80; d Bisbee, Nov. 7; b Pontown, Utah; to Little Colorado area 1875; farmer, freighter, blacksmith; bur St. David.

MISS VERONICA POWERS; d Tucson Sept. 16; b California; to Tucson 1880; school teacher Ariz. schools 41 years, 31 in Tucson; bur Tucson.

HENRY AUGUSTUS PRICE, 63; d Prescott Sept. 19; b Arkansas; to Yavapai Co. 1876; mining; bur Prescott.

MRS. IDA E. RANDOLPH, 65; d San Diego Sept. 21; to Phoenix 1893; manager Capitol Hotel, Phoenix; bur Phoenix.

SIRKLE CROESUS ROGERS, 75; d Prescott Sept. 8; b Evansville, Ind.; to Yavapai Co. 1867; farmer near Cottonwood; bur Prescott.

JOHN SHERMAN SESSIONS, 70; d Cherry Sept. 21; b Waynesville, Ill.; to Camp Verde about 1870; early-day freighter, cattle raiser, miner, postmaster, and mail-stage operator; bur Prescott.

JAMES M. SHAW, 75; d Prescott Oct. 15; b Griffin, Georgia; to Ariz. 1886; mining, Mohave Co. deputy sheriff; bur Kingman.

GEORGE SHURTZ, 75; d Central Sept. 26; b Utah; to Graham Co. 1883; farmer; bur Central.

SAMUEL SINCOCK, 76; d Prescott Oct. 15; b Cornwall, Eng-

land; to Pinal Co. 1878; bur Prescott.

MRS. HELENE SMITH, 80; d Patagonia Nov. 23; b Germany; to Tucson 1880, moved to Crittenden 1882, since at Patagonia.

BEN STILLMAN, 54; d Tucson Oct. 17; b Bisbee; first white child born in Bisbee; World War Veteran; bur Tucson.

MRS KATE THURMAN, 74; d Phoenix Oct. 15; b Toronto, Can.; to Tombstone 1883; bur Phoenix.

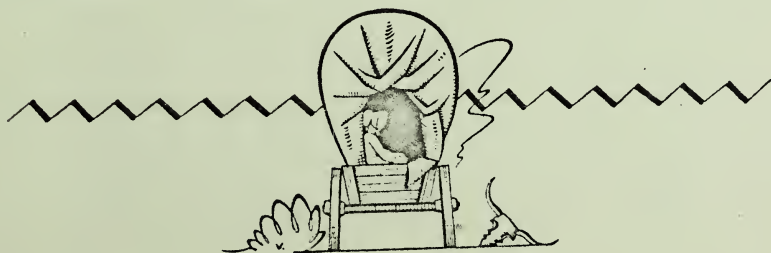
MRS. LAURA JANE BOHME TOMERLIN, 76; d Miami Oct. 18; b Waco, Tex.; to Globe-Miami district 1889; bur Miami.

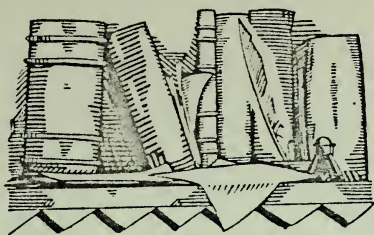
JOHN WILSON, 97; d Globe Nov. 10; b St. Charles, Can.; to Ariz. 1895; cattleman; bur Globe.

SANTIAGO WARD, 75; d Tucson Oct. 9; b Santa Cruz, now Sonoita, Ariz.; one of founders of Alianza Hispano-Americana, veteran of several Indian campaigns; bur Tucson.

IKE F. WHEELER, 69; d Prescott Nov. 26; b Illinois; to Flagstaff 1887; stage driver, peace officer Coconino Co., dairyman, Mohave Co.; bur Prescott.

MRS. ELLEN OAKLEY WILLIS, about 65; d Snowflake Nov. 23; b Utah; to Snowflake when 6 years old; bur Snowflake.





Book Reviews

AFTER CORONADO. Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727. Documents from the archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico. Translated and edited by Alfred Barnaby Thomas. With a historical introduction. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. xiv+306 pp.

Even our high-school and grade-school texts tell of Coronado's expeditions, but *After Coronado* fills a great and yawning gap in the history of the Southwest, in which only here and there periods of Spanish exploration and occupation have been studied and written. Particularly is this true of the explorations north and east from New Mexico from the time of New Mexico's founding to the close of the Spanish period in 1821. Three years ago Professor Thomas published his *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), edited documents on the little-known career of Juan Bautista de Anza as governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787. Now he gives us valuable, hitherto unpublished documents

on an earlier period, coupling them with a valuable historical introduction.

Very briefly Professor Thomas surveys the history of Spanish explorations and occupation in the Southwest from Coronado's time to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the reconquest of New Mexico in 1696. Then, in more detail, he takes from the documents the story of the intrepid Spanish pioneers who preceded Pike and other Anglo-Americans by a century and more in the penetration of the present-day states of Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma. The rivalry of Spain and France in that area is portrayed; the whole period is brought into the picture as part of the "defensive aggression" which characterized Spain's later expansion policy in the New World. Complementing and fortifying this introduction is a large and valuable collection of "Documents relating to the northeastern frontier of New Mexico, 1696-1727." These—diaries, official correspondence, and the like taken from the archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico—and an excellent bibliography embrace some three fourths of the whole volume. The prospective reader should not, however, allow himself to be turned away by the documentary nature of the entire work. For the whole of it, introduction and documents, is well presented, well written, well translated, and thoroughly readable. Not only is the book of definite and positive

value to the student of history, but it should appeal also to the casual reader of southwestern history.

LEWIS W. BEALER.

WRANGLIN' THE PAST. Reminiscences of Frank M. King. Privately published by Haynes Corporation, Los Angeles.

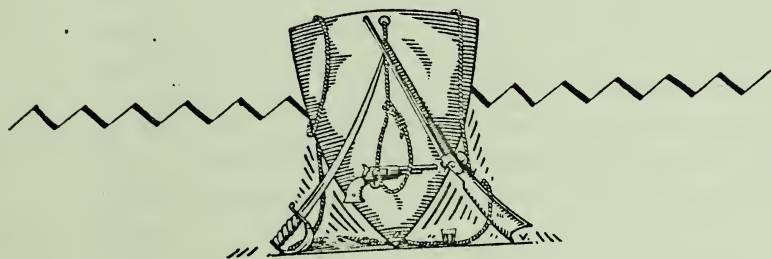
Mr. King lived through that period of the West's development which the public has found romantic and endowed with all the drama of its personal desires for adventure. He had ample opportunities as a cowboy in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona not only to live precariously but to share vicariously the dramas of other men's lives.

Looking back over the past, the author writes of those by-gone days of youth and uncertainty, and a new country being molded into

the uncomfortable clothes and tight fitting shoes of civilization. The book is packed with events calculated to entertain and inform, but at times becomes overemphatic with the author's insistence that his version—and his only—is the correct historic one. He reiterates tales of lawless gunmen, sometimes adding new material from his personal experiences with them.

Rambling, at times so discursive one has difficulty following him, the author moves among the shades of the past feeling sentimental attachment for the vigorous days left behind. With no pretense of literary flourish or fine writing Mr. King sets forth his life and experiences much as if, sitting on one heel beside a campfire after a day of riding the range, he were talking to a group of fellow punchers.

BERNICE COSULICH.





Among the Authors

HAZEL EMERY MILLS is a graduate of the University of California who wrote her master's thesis under the direction of Professor Herbert E. Bolton on the subject of Jacobo Sedelmayr and is now working in the University of California toward her doctorate.

WALDO E. WALTZ is Assistant Professor of History and Political Science at the University of Arizona. He is now on leave of absence working for his doctorate at the University of Illinois. Professor Waltz was at one time on the faculty of the State Teachers College at Tempe.

GRENVILLE GOODWIN has spent years studying the Indians of the Southwest and living with them. His special interest is the Apaches. Results of his work have appeared in the *American Anthropologist*.

EUGENE E. WILLIAMS is a retired Congregational minister who came from Ohio in 1919 to Arizona in search of health. A life member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, he was attracted to the study of Arizona history as a hobby. Serving as Chaplain of the Senate in the Sixth and Eighth Arizona legislatures he noted the lack of authentic information regarding Arizona's early governors and undertook as a labor of love to remedy this condition.

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PAPAGOS

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SENTED BY JUAN BAUTISTA DE
ANZA

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EXPERIENCES OF AN INDIAN SCOUT

ANSON H. SMITH, ARIZONA EDITOR

THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF
ARIZONA — JOHN PHILO HOYT



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HOMER LEROY SHANTZ, Ph.D., Sc.D. President of the University

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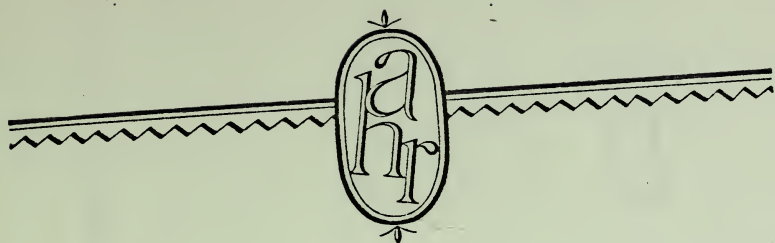


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The mission of San Xavier del Bac as it is today.

PAPAGUERIA, THE DOMAIN OF THE PAPAGOS

BY FATHER BONAVENTURE OBLASSER, O.F.M.

We have often been told of the nomadic Papagos. Even our good senator, the Hon. Henry F. Ashurst, has expressed his opinion that the Papagos are good natured, peaceable nomads. In fact he still adheres tenaciously to this opinion.

Carl Lumholtz visited the Papago country about 1910. He published the results of his brief study in *New Trails in Mexico*, 1912. He states:

The greater part of the tribe never could be induced to live in pueblos or villages, which was always the policy of the Spanish missionary. In spite of the efforts of the Jesuits and Franciscans the Papagos are still living in their rancherías as of old, half nomadic in habit, resorting in the winter to the Sierras, where water is more plentiful and where their cattle, horses, mules, and donkeys find good grazing ground. In the summer they move to the broad, flat valleys to devote themselves to agriculture, which is made possible by the aid of the showers that fall in July and August.¹

Carl Lumholtz represents the opinion of those who class the Papagos as "half nomadic," which would mean roaming within a small area to suit weather conditions, as is the case with the Navajos.

Both opinions fall short of the truth. Lumholtz spent but part of a year in the Papago domain; I met him at the Pima villages on his return from the desert. Since his statement that the Jesuits and Franciscans made efforts to gather the Papagos away from their rancherías is not a historical fact, we can see that he was not very careful about the statements in the rest of the paragraph.

The truth is that the Papagos have lived in permanent villages, since before the advent of the white man. Every one of these villages had attached to it what we might call emergency villages embracing field locations, waterholes, cactus groves, mesquite forests, acorn plots, localities for gathering basket materials, etc. The village proper was built of houses of a more permanent construction than those found

¹ p. 25.

in the emergency villages. The Papago villages consisted of permanent houses, which were built on a uniform plan. They were of such permanency that some of the larger council houses are still extant, as at Santa Rosa, Pisinemo, and Anegam. The custom of destroying houses at the death of the owner accounts for the lack of more examples. In Spanish literature, the villages of the Papagos are at times styled pueblos, but more frequently they are referred to as rancherías. The word ranchería implies a house construction notably less perfect than that of the Spaniards. It is, therefore, not correct to make an essential distinction between the words pueblo, village, and ranchería.

At the time of the Gadsden Purchase the Papago villages, excluding San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, were: Kwahate, Anegam, Santa Rosa, Kaka, Mesquite, Komali, Tecolote, Kupk, Gueva, and Perigua. Just over the Mexican boundary there were Sonoyta and Quitovac. To complete our list we must mention a group of nomadic Papagos who lived in the badlands of Arizona, the stretch of desert west of the Papago Reservation and south of the Gila River and extending to the Gulf. These are the "Sand Papagos," called *Aréñenos* by the Spaniards.

Owing to changes of conditions since 1852, many emergency villages have become permanent. This accounts for the sixty-two inhabited villages aggregating 1,013 houses with a total population of 5,560 persons recorded by Mr. Clotts. But these new villages still form one unit with the parent village, holding their grazing and certain other lands in common.

The eleven American Papago villages mentioned above as forming the parent rancherías of the reservation still form with their offspring villages that many districts. The boundaries between their lands are well defined, as they have been for ages past. The statement then that grazing lands throughout the Papaguería seem to have been common to the entire tribe regardless of village affiliations is not correct.

Furthermore, every part of the Papago country is the part of some village community. The present arbitrary reservation does not include all the land continually occupied by the Papagos since the Gadsden Purchase.

With these remarks forming a preface to our treatise for its better understanding, let us trace the existence of a few of the Papago pueblos back through the pages of history.

SAN XAVIER DEL BAC—INHABITED MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES

Let us turn back to Civil War days. In 1864 Mr. Browne² in the company of Charles D. Poston, the first Indian Commissioner for the Territory of Arizona, visited the village. His impressions were printed in Harper's *New Monthly Magazine*, December, 1864. He tells us:

On the 19th of January we set forth on our journey with an escort of thirty men, belonging to Company G, California Volunteers, under command of Lieutenant Arnold. . . . Nine miles from Tucson we came to the fine old mission of San Xavier del Bac. . . . A village of Papago Indians, numbering some two or three hundred souls, partially surrounds the mission. . . . As far back as our knowledge of the Papagos extends they have been a peaceable, industrious and friendly race. They live here, as they lived two centuries ago, by cultivating the low grounds in the vicinity, which they make wonderfully productive by a system of irrigation. . . . The Papagos . . . are originally a branch of the Pimos, and speak the same language. . . . On one occasion, when the principal chiefs and braves were away gathering patayah in the desert, the old men and boys of the tribe kept at bay, and finally beat off, a band of over two hundred Apaches who made a descent upon the village.

In 1855 U. S. Commissioner, Major William H. Emory, called at San Xavier. Thus he could make the following statements in Chapter VI of his "Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey" (describing the Gadsden Purchase):

. . . There are in this territory four settlements: one the Mesilla Valley settlement, containing about fifteen hundred inhabitants. . . . At Tucson there is a settlement consisting of about seventy families. . . . South of Tucson there is a small settlement at San Xavier of semi-civilized Indians, called Papagoes.

In the second part of the report on page 19, in describing the geology of the country, he states:

Approaching the town of San Xavier, noted for its superb church contrasting strangely with the mud hovels surrounding it, we came upon running water. . . .

² J. Ross Browne, *The Apache Country*, p. 139.

Coming to 1826, we find the following entry in an old register, now in the archives of the Bishop of Tucson: Under date of November 16, 1826, Fr. Rafael Díaz attests to the marriage of "*Tomás Barrios de la ranchería de Santa Ana agregado a este pueblo con María Candelaria Trinidad.*" The pueblo referred to is San Xavier, since the writer signs his name as that of its missionary.

An inventory, dated 1768, from the archives of Querétaro College bears the signature of the chief of the pueblo of San Xavier, thus showing that the old town was in existence at that time.

Under date of January 3, 1754, the church register of the old Guevavi Mission contains the following entry signed by Frco. Pauer: "... *visité el Pueblo de San Xavier y bautizé.*" Thereupon follows a long list of Indians baptized, including the child of Chief Havanimo, one of the leaders in the rebellion of November, 1751. Under date of July 17 mention is made of the Chief of San Xavier.

Bolton's translation of Padre Kino's *Favores Celestiales* brings us back to April 26, 1700.

Having arrived at this great ranchería of San Xavier del Bac . . . we killed six beeves of the three hundred which they were tending for me here. . . . They had also a good field of wheat which was beginning to head, and during the following days they planted for the church a large field of maize, which they had previously cleared.³

In the same work Dr. Bolton tells us of the first visit of a white man to this village on August 23, 1692. Padre Kino writes:

I went in to the Sobaipuris of the north. . . . I found the natives very affable and friendly, and particularly so in the principal ranchería of San Xavier del Bac, which contains more than eight hundred souls.⁴

The earlier records call the Pima Indians of the Santa Cruz and the San Pedro valleys "Sobaipuris."

We have thus traced the existence of San Xavier as a village to almost a century before the birth of our own republic.

³ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, Vol. I, p. 234.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

KOMALI VILLAGE

The pueblo of Cumaro claims the valley west of the Baboquivari Mountains. One of its watering places was located at the foot of the highest peak. Kino met the Indians here. So did Browne and Poston in 1864. But their pueblo was located at the mountains or hills called Komali by the Indians, but marked on the map as Sierra de Las Animas. The remains of an ancient adobe fortification can still be seen. So too the remains of a square stone enclosure used for their dances and ceremonies. The number of ancient graves covering the Komali Mountains testifies to the antiquity of the settlement. The first mention of Cumaro is by Pedro Fages in his diary:

1781, Wednesday, October 3

We broke camp in the morning . . . and, continuing our march over level, well grassed land, arrived at a place which the soldiers called Cumaro, where we halted after travelling eight leagues. There were several pools of water, sufficient for the people and the horses. Distance from Pitic, 94 leagues.

The village remained concentrated at this location during the following century. We meet with an occasional mention of it in the Sacaton agency archives. It would not join in with the revolt of the Cobota-Tecolote Pueblo against the Mexicans in the early fifties. The pueblo had fields scattered over the full length of the Baboquivari Valley, from Little Tucson Hill down to Corner Village, near the modern San Miguel. After the Apache menace had been overcome by the American government, these Indians commenced to live permanently at their fields, and so the villages of Little Tucson, Topawa, Cold Fields, and Corner came into existence as permanent ones. The Komali village of today consists of the fields closest to the ancient pueblo. This latter, located west of the hill, has been deserted for some thirty years.

TECOLOTE

This pueblo is not mentioned by the early Spanish explorers, but when this country was taken over by the United States, it was a large, flourishing community. Its members are still the wealthiest of the tribe, being the best cattlemen.

Their territory adjoins that of Komali. Together with these people they claimed water rights at the foot of Baboquivari as an emergency village site. Shortly before the arrival of Colonel Emory, they made their last stand against the Mexicans; they were defeated and dispersed.

When Emory made his survey he noted the village of Cobota. This was a fortified mountain village of Tecolote, some ten miles to the north. The old men still relate a stiff fight with Apache marauders at this place.

Emory gives an interesting description of Papago rancherías in this vicinity. He says:

They are generally situated some distance from water, as there seems to be a superstition about living near it; the women, who do all the labor, have to bring it in ollas, or earthen vessels, a long way, bearing it on their heads. They are compelled to keep very large ones filled, which are sunk in the ground, and capable of holding a great many gallons. This tribe is comparatively well off in worldly goods; they plant and grow corn and wheat, and possess cattle and many fine horses. . . . From the suwarrow (*Cereus Giganteum*) and pitaya they make an excellent preserve by simply boiling the fruit down without sugar, and also a candy of the same material. . . . The women are better dressed than most Indian women; they all wear skirts of manta or calico, covering the body from the hips down. They appear to be a good, quiet, and inoffensive tribe.⁵

The report contains another instructive passage:

The line, after crossing a desert of about seventeen miles, strikes a comparatively low and narrow sierra, composed chiefly of porphyry and amygdaloid rock. This sierra presents two vertical peaks, rising up like a pair of horns, which constitute natural monuments for the line as it falls between them. It is a northerly continuation of the Cordillera Cobota, so called by the Papago Indians who have several fixed settlements here. . . . The Sierra Arteza and Soni lie, respectively, southeast and northwest; the former in the United States, the latter in Mexico, both well known and famous among the natives as being remarkably auriferous. . . . The Papagos claim this region and from the time they first learned to appreciate the value of gold to the present day, have continued to prospect successfully.⁶

Another emergency village of Tecolote was Pozo Verde. Mr. Browne tells about his visit in 1864.

⁵ "Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey," p. 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Pozo Verde, or Green Wells, was our next encampment after leaving Zazabi.⁷ . . . We arrived at the Pozo Verde about two P. M. . . . The Boundary Commission spent some weeks at this point recruiting their animals and making explorations in the vicinity. The water is contained in a sort of pit or natural tank. . . . A few hundred yards from the well is an adobe fort built by the Papago Indians as a protection to their frontier village and grazing range. . . . In former years it was frequented a good deal by Apache bands, but the Papagoes generally came off victorious in the battles that ensued. At this time they rarely appear except in squads of three or four, who descend from the mountains at night and make sudden raids upon the Papago cattle. .

Nine years previous Emory reported about this village:

Crossing it brings you to the base of Sierra del Pozo Verde, on which is erected Monument XV. . . . A trail leads around its southern extremity to Agua del Pozo Verde (Green Well) lying at the foot of the western slope, a little east of south, and about two miles distant from the monument. Permanent water is found here; and, although a large number of animals soon exhaust it, still it fills up in a few hours. This is the site of an old rancharia of the Papago Indians. . . . The grave of one of their chiefs, who had been killed by the Apaches was found near camp.⁸

Most interesting, too, is the account of his visit to this rancharia, and of his visit to the near-by famous cave of Mange, the soldier companion of Padre Kino.

After the Apache menace had ceased the Tecolote people made their permanent homes in their fields. This gave rise to the villages of San Miguel, Vamuri, and San Rafael. The sites at Rocky Point and Pozo Verde became large cattle-raising centers. A few families still reside at Tecolote.

⁷ Sasabe.

⁸ J. Ross Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 278.



A PROJECT FOR EXPLORATION PRESENTED BY JUAN BAUTISTA DE ANZA

BY DONALD ROWLAND

Two hundred years ago the mission district of Pimería Alta, in northern Sonora, marked the limit of settlement in northwestern New Spain. The region beyond, now southern Arizona, because of desert stretches and a rather sparse native population offered no great attraction to anyone other than Jesuit missionaries, and the cost of establishing and maintaining new missions made the Spanish government chary of support to efforts whose sole return would be the conversion of a few native tribesmen. In spite of this, projects were presented occasionally which looked toward an advance of the Sonora frontier. In most cases these were sponsored by the Jesuits, but some were presented by officials friendly to the order who likewise hoped for possible fame or advancement through the discovery of mines or other items of value to the empire.¹

The document translated below covers a proposal made by Captain Juan Bautista de Anza,² an officer at the time in command of the royal presidio of Santa Rosa de Corodeguachi, or Fronteras. Shortly before the date on which his letter was written a sensational silver strike had been made, and Anza felt that this discovery of mineral wealth in his district might prove to be a motive powerful enough to cause the governmental authorities to grant the necessary permission and backing for an expedition to the Colorado River and beyond. As additional arguments he made reference to the stock tales of fabulous cities, rich lands, and the fabled Strait of Anian, all of which had influenced for two centuries the exploration of North America.

The Anza proposal was received with some favor by the higher authorities, for the expedition was well planned and would not be exorbitant in cost. Captain Anza was likewise recognized as a capable officer with much experience to his credit in regard to conditions in the region. His proposal was not translated into action immediately, however, and Indian revolts which broke out in Sonora shortly afterward shelved it indefinitely. Anza himself was killed in an encounter with Apaches in 1739. No effective action was taken in regard to a military expedition beyond the Colorado until thirty-five years later, when his own son led a troop of soldiers and

¹ For standard works on exploration and settlement in this region, see: Charles E. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California* (New York, 1916); Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta* (Cleveland, 1919), 2 vols; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1884), 2 vols.

² He was the second of three men of that name, all of whom served with distinction in Sonora.

colonists north and west to the settlements which at last had been established on the California coast.³

As Captain Anza was somewhat more adept at fighting than writing, it has been necessary to modify sentence structure occasionally to conform with modern usage.

Illustrious and Excellent Señor:⁴ Having reported to your Excellency under date of yesterday concerning the balls and slabs of virgin silver which have been found in Pimería Alta, I ought not to omit calling to the attention of your Excellency certain conditions existing in the newly converted districts of the Indians of the Pima nation.

The last three missions thrown to the north were founded in the year 1732, through the aid of his Majesty, whom God guard, and through the statement and request of the most illustrious Señor Don D. Benito Crespo, then bishop of these provinces. The most excellent Señor Viceroy Marqués de Casafuerte had the kindness to thank me, whom he had ordered to assist so that the said missions might be established and might receive the attention which had been procured for them, for what I had at that time carried out in connection with the entrada of the reverend missionary fathers. He also ordered me to give him a report on the site and conditions surrounding the new missions covering the number of Indians and the opportunities which were offered for subsistence, and for this purpose, in obedience with lawful procedure, I remitted to his Excellency the representations made by the three reverend fathers upon the rancherías to which they had been appointed by their superior. By means of these his Excellency attained the fundamental understanding which he desired. He had previously ordered me to give him an account of all that occurred, and of whatever else might seem worthy of inclusion to his Excellency, and this order I also had executed, including with my report some statements which I had acquired concerning the interior of these lands (which were to his liking). All of these documents will ap-

³ The story of this expedition is most fully narrated in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), 5 vols.

⁴ Juan Bautista de Anza to the viceroy, January 14, 1737, A. G. I., Aud. Quad. 185. A short summary of this letter is in Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

pear in the archives of the superior government of your Excellency.

It would seem desirable, Señor, that they⁵ be explored, so that the most happy day of enlightenment through the Holy Faith of our God and Master will arrive for their inhabitants, as our most pious monarch desires. The reverend father Joseph de Echevarría,⁶ as a most zealous son of the grand patriarch San Ignacio de Loyola, at the time he was visiting the missions of these provinces asked me to transcribe for him some of the aforesaid statements in order that with the information acquired he could inform the government and certain pious persons in that city⁷ with the purpose of initiating a task so holy. However, he did not carry out this plan, as I have learned, either because of his infirmities, or because of an appointment to which he gave obedience. Today he may be found, according to the news which I have, at the Pueblo de Los Angeles as rector of his college, which fact I cite to your Excellency so that by deigning to take a statement on the matter from his Reverence, all security may be furnished.

For many years the reverend missionary fathers of this sacred family have made numerous entradas as far as the Gila River and the coast,⁸ and have found many rancherías of Indians; they desired to reclaim their souls, of which something has been accomplished, and to learn at the same time whether California were island or peninsula (which could not be done because of difficulties which arose, even though they arrived by following the coast at the disembouchment of the Colorado River into the sea, on one visit. However, it is considered most probably to be an island).⁹ Such an advance, Señor Excellency, has resulted in the discovery of this unprecedented silver deposit, a fact which is in

⁵ The regions beyond Pimería Alta.

⁶ Procurador Echevarría of the Jesuit order was *visitador general* to the missions of Sonora and Lower California in 1729 (Bancroft, *N. Mex. States*, I, 449).

⁷ Mexico City (?).

⁸ Of the Gulf of California.

⁹ Anza either was not informed of, or ignored, Father Kino's reasoning that Lower California was a peninsula (see Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*).

the highest degree valuable to Christianity since wise, zealous, and prudent men judge it as a token which has begun to appear that God the Merciful has granted all things for a speedy penetration of these pagan lands. It is also not beyond reason that there remain even greater riches, for by this means there follows the reclamation of souls, as has happened before in both Americas, and where to this end, and as yet without the stimulus of them, our king and master spends liberally, in various kingdoms and provinces, from his royal treasury. This conjecture that there are riches of silver, gold, and pearls on land and sea in those parts, I wish to state immediately is expressed in various documents; there is also quicksilver, of which the Indians who live on the Gila River gave information to the said reverend fathers and to Don Juan Matheo Mange, by signs. The great number of the gentiles themselves is clear through statements of the adelantado Don Juan de Oñate concerning the trip which he made from the kingdom of New Mexico toward the coast of the South Sea,¹⁰ and through various other expeditions made by religious and lay explorers.

It is a tradition still very common among some native Indians of these lands that the ancestors of the kings of Mexico first appeared in Pimería, and they await the Great Emperor, of whom, when he comes, they expect to receive many benefits. Some also believe that when they die they go to him; Satan induces these chimeras. On this bank of the said Gila River there are buildings¹¹ of four stories in height in the middle and of three on the sides, with walls two varas in thickness and of strong cementation and foundation, also other ruins; fifteen leagues from the presidio of Janos there are some of a capacity such as that of the palace at Madrid. From these ruins and others have been taken axes of flint, painted jars, and metates, which, it is to be inferred, were fabricated by the said Mexicans in their migrations since the natives who now live in the neighborhood do not use axes so made, nor any of the other things mentioned, in the same model.

From all that I have mentioned and from the other data

¹⁰ In 1604-5.

¹¹ The famous Casa Grande ruins.

which will be found on record at the headquarters of your superior government as a result of expeditions which have been ordered by land and sea by predecessors of your Excellency (especially that of Captain Francisco Vásquez de Coronado in the time of the Señor Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza) it will be seen that there is much heathenism. This was the main subject of the memorial which Don Andrés de Medina presented to the Señor Viceroy Marqués de Manzerá¹² concerning the exploration of these unknown lands so that a verification of what had been stated concerning the possibility of navigation to the North Sea might lead to the conveniences which it would offer, or a part of them. It would be most useful if this passage could be found to exist in the strait which this coast of New Spain and California possesses, as I have heard asserted by men who knew something of navigation, and which would be of great aid to the colonies which will be placed (if God is served) on these coasts. In one statement it is evident that a vessel which was commanded by one Miguel Delgado¹³ because of tempest which struck it near Newfoundland passed to the South Sea on this coast of New Spain, and sailing up a mighty river discovered a great city, whose chief came to see the vessel borne by his subjects on a gilded litter. Because of a certain mischief by a sailor they departed secretly.¹⁴ The statement which was made on this affair, and which I have cited, the aforesaid Señor Marqués de Casafuerte was pleased to send to my governor and captain-general, Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, who imparted it to me in the past year of 1735 when he came to this province to inspect it. He was not able to follow it to a conclusion (so he committed it to me, uselessly), or to visit Pimería, since by order of the superior government he had to go to pacify the rebellious Indians of [Lower] California. While there he yet contemplated the project, because of his

¹² Viceroy from 1664 to 1673. The memorial mentioned was not available.

¹³ No document covering this interesting tale could be located from material at hand.

¹⁴ It is not certain whether Anza meant that the natives had stolen away, or whether the visitors had found it necessary to escape.

zeal, but has been unable to include the affair among those which have engaged his attention.

It is certain also that no presidio of those of the kingdom has more to attend to than this one in my charge, for it is situated in very rugged country. Likewise, its frontier and the whole of this province are more dangerous than others because of the Apache enemy; the care of the Seri nation, on whose frontier are placed as guard some soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa and some from my company; and the attention necessitated at the same time by the Indians of the Pima nation whom, although of good character, the Enemy of humankind has moved to some inquietude because of the introduction of the Holy Faith, and while they have been pacified with ease and I do not distrust them, none in general are obedient. In short, there is much work done in keeping the peace.

These inconveniences which are patent have been able to act as a hindrance to the presentation of a project for the discovery of new lands; yet, Señor Excellency, a force which I am not able to resist drags me along toward an opposite course into a conflict to which God our Lord orders me, and before whom I protest that I am not carried away by the inducements of human convenience nor the ambition of having for myself that which others could carry out with greater efficiency and prudence—in which case I feel certain that I would cede it, for the service of both Majesties. I take into consideration, also, that many projects which in former years have been proposed (and with good zeal) have not been carried into effect because of the difficulties which were encountered in regard to the various provisions and contingencies necessary for their execution. These have caused great expense, but the undertaking (here begins my own project) of an exploration as far as the Colorado River and beyond for some leagues would not entail great expenditure, and this could be met by some of the pious here; I myself would assist by means of some cattle, horses, mules, and small gifts for the Indians. The greatest difficulty is to obtain two *canoas* for crossing the Colorado (and also the Gila), since they are to be contemplated as mighty streams; as large trees

will not be lacking, I plan to make this easy by taking along two or three carpenters.

By such an expedition knowledge would be gained of the nations which inhabit the banks of these streams, and other spots, if such are fertile, and with the advantages which would be offered and the true information gained it would be possible to advise his Majesty so that, it being deemed suitable, some town could be planted on the aforesaid Colorado River. This would be a step by which with greater ease could be discovered (if what the reports state be true) the Seven Cities, the Gran Teguayo or Quivera, and also if there be a passage to the North Sea and the riches which could be obtained on it, and on land. Most precious of all, it would provide diligence in the salvation of souls, which should be the principal object.

The first effort could be carried out with fifty or sixty armed men, such as may be available, detaching one small squadron of soldiers from the company under my command and gathering the rest of the men from other places. It should also include a hundred friendly Pima Indians, and two willing Jesuit missionaries; the latter could be obtained with ease since all of those who live in the missions of these provinces favor the idea in the highest degree since they are very zealous for the good of souls and the service of the king, and those who can never omit their aid in similar expeditions. Also I wish to state, Excellency, that in regard to the soldiers none are more occupied than those under my command, particularly because of the ferocious Apaches. While some branches of the nation, as I have notified your Excellency, have been somewhat tranquil for the space of a year and a half, and in the hope of peace I have aided them from my small stores with food, a few horses, and clothing, their gratitude has been to commit treason and to start to rob (as I have also advised your Excellency). I followed them during the past month of August, and having joined with the forces of the presidio of Janos (and of auxiliaries) under their captain, Don Francisco de Mendizabal, some punishment was effected. An Indian who had surrendered his arms was sent out with instructions to tell them that if they would be peaceful and

would leave for the interior without doing damage in some other region, and that if some would come in, I would return the women and children who had been captured; this they have not carried out, although they refrained from entering this province from the said month of August until some twenty days ago, when they appeared in this region ready to rob and kill if possible. I admit that it is probable that both on these frontiers where they enter to commit hostilities and in the interior there are some spots and some good country, although widely separated, where they may be followed and some punishment effected, but it is not possible to do this constantly because we have had to assist in putting down the uprisings of the Seri Indians, and in other such affairs which demand prompt treatment. It would be possible to act temporarily on the same business¹⁵ in the effort toward discovery which I propose, later taking a convenient direction. Some soldiers might be selected from this presidio if no other means be found, but it would be well to leave the greater part of the company on guard on the frontier.

I have not communicated to my aforesaid governor, Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, anything to which I have referred because he is in [Lower] California, but since it seems that it should be gone into immediately, I am reporting to your Excellency so that as head of these provinces your zeal may choose what is expedient. I affirm that in the affair of exploration to the Colorado River and beyond, the plan which I have proposed is in my view the best means of quickly attaining that end. If the inhabitants are industrious,¹⁶ and this is to be presumed, it will not be difficult to reduce them; if, on the contrary, they defend themselves with what they have, the bow and arrow and such rude forces and supplies that the wilderness offers, it may be judged almost an impossibility,¹⁷ for concerning this I have had some experience. It is also worthy of much attention that at the

¹⁵ The campaign against the Apaches.

¹⁶ Sedentary (?).

¹⁷ It is not clear whether Anza meant that successful resistance by the natives with such equipment would be impossible, or whether it would be impossible to subdue them.

same time when the foundation of the said missions of Pimería was carried out they started to find small mines of little value on its boundaries, which sometimes have been so increased that from their *quintas* has been repaid to his Majesty all that had been expended from the royal treasury; finally there has been this marvel of the silver discovery.

I do not maintain greater probability in that to which I have referred concerning human conveniences than is furnished me by the cited statements which are in this province or in that city, and which your Excellency may see and examine in regard to the measures which I have proposed for the discovery, and in view of them to resolve, with your customary understanding, what course would be most suitable. Our God guard the most excellent and illustrious person of your Excellency the many years that this kingdom needs it for its greater glory. Real Presidio de Santa Rosa de Corodeguachi, January 14, 1737.

Juan Bautista de Anza



COLOR IN NAVAJO WEAVING

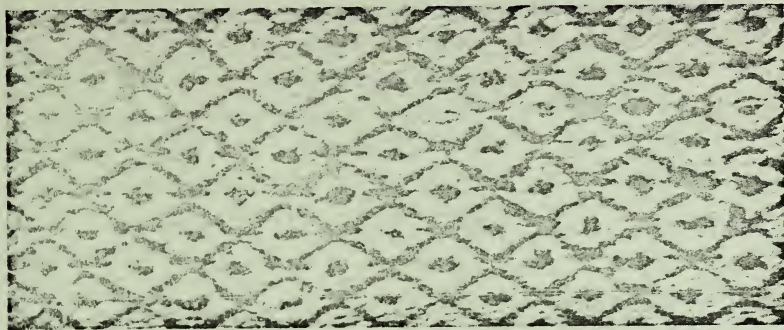
BY GLADYS A. REICHARD

The use of certain colors—black, white, gray, and especially red—has given the Navajo rug a character which amounts to a distinction. Many a buyer or user, even though he is quite familiar with Navajo weaving and may have seen many varieties, will say, "Well, I like red in mine," or "It doesn't seem Navajo to me if it has no red." In spite of this general fact, there are many Navajo rugs (or blankets) which contain no red, some of them belong to particular classes differentiated no less by color than by weave.

The saddle blankets, of which few are seen in trade, always give the effect of having quiet colors. There are seven or eight weaves belonging to this class of blankets and they differ from the best-known type in that the design is achieved by complicated stringing of the warp, whereas in the ordinary blanket the weaver inserts her design with her weft. That is to say, when weaving a saddle blanket she must carefully count her warps and loop them on three, four, or even six healds. After she has them so arranged she may throw her weft across the entire width of the blanket. Most of the saddle-blanket or fancy weaves require constant concentration because it is important to keep the order of healds and usually of three weft colors exact. A single mistake can be noticed at once by the merest layman viewing the finished blanket.

This brief description of the fancy weaves is given to point out that in such weaves as "diamond" or "braided," for example, the colors, usually three, succeed each other in rapid succession, each one showing in the finished blanket for only a very small space. Consequently even though the most garish colors may be used, the effect is softened by the fact that the space occupied by each shade is small, being quickly broken up by the appearance of the next color. Since this is the case the effect of the fancy weaves is soft

and pleasant no matter what colors are chosen. Although the method of producing it is different the effect may be compared with that of a coarse tweed.



Diamond weave in two colors.

A custom traditional among the weavers adds to the result determined by the technique itself. They select at least one dull color—black, gray, tan, or white—to offset and contrast with the other two. Old-fashioned saddle blankets most frequently have colors of the quiet sort: black-white-gray, black-white-tan, or black-tan-gray are old favorite combinations.

The Navajos themselves use very few of their own blankets, but a woman's ability as a weaver and her affection for her husband are attested by the saddle blankets he uses. A saddle blanket is inconspicuous on a horse, but it is as carefully observed and estimated as any of our own small and carefully thought-out appointments. If a woman can achieve one of the fancy weaves—and if she can make one, she can often make many—her prestige is just a little above that of her less talented sisters.

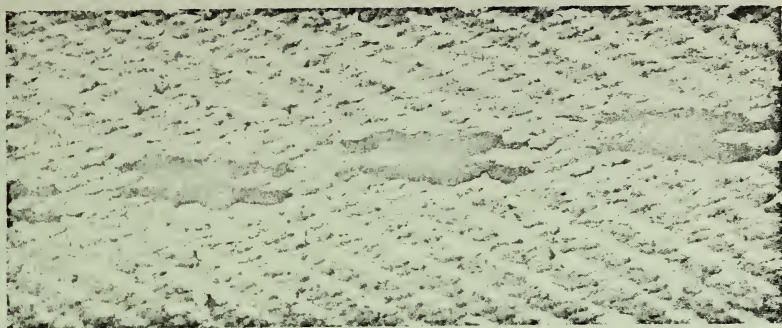
Among the whites only the connoisseur knows and appreciates the fancy weaves. Indeed there are many collectors who do not know them, and few museum collections have all of them; some famous collections have none, or at best only one or two of the most common of these weaves. However, a few traders have been encouraging their production during the past six or seven years and now there are some fine col-

lections. The number and excellence of these types at the Gallup Ceremonial in 1935 gave the judges considerable thought in awarding prizes. They have a decided advantage in trade for they, unlike the better-known brilliant designs of plain weave, may be used with any kind of furniture or woodwork. For this reason, many persons ignorant of their existence, are quickly educated to appreciate them, even though they may feel their preconceived notions violated.

Another unfamiliar color development in Navajo blankets is the use of natural dyes. They are not new, for they represent the original attempts of the Navajo at coloring wool. Encouragement in the use of natural dyes has come from Americans interested in this old art, from a few traders, artists, and blanket collectors, so that the present state and quantity of these blankets represent a lively and successful revival. Not only have the reservation weavers been induced to revive this art, but the few Navajo children learning to weave at school (Burke Vocational School, Ft. Wingate, and Santa Fé Indian School) are being taught to make and use these dyes. The movement is a spirited one, and it seems as if it may, in part at least, change the whole character of the Navajo rug.

This situation shows the major role played by color in determining the typical style. In addition to color, two factors, one of minor technical importance and one artistic, differentiate the natural- or vegetable-dye blanket from the others. The yarn for this style is thick and more loosely spun than for ordinary rugs so that the texture is soft and pliable and becomes more so after each cleansing. For this reason the webs may properly be called blankets as compared with the more common, thicker, heavier pieces which are more like rugs. As is well known, little distinction is made between a blanket and rug in common parlance of the Southwest.

Besides the softer texture, the vegetable-dye blankets are distinguished from the common ones by a marked and characteristic simplicity of design. They do not often have borders, and the majority of them have stripes or fields marked off by stripes and filled with a simple rhythmic unit composed of small, traditional elements.



Diagonal weave in three colors.

At the present time the materials, all native products, are scarce and for that reason, vegetable-dye blankets are considered rare and worth more than ordinary ones. If the time of the Navajo be given the importance accorded our own—which it is not—almost no one could pay the price which a blanket having much natural dye is worth in effort.

I may illustrate this by my own experience. In my opinion the best color the Navajos have is a soft pinkish-tan, which could be called sand color if one meant the sand of the red or pink sandstone cliffs. It is made from the root bark of the mountain mahogany which, like many other native plants, has a restricted habitat. In favorable locations it grows on the sides of canyons or low mountains in apparent abundance. I lived six miles south of Ganado and our nearest source of supply was at a distance of twenty-six miles.

An Indian girl served as my informant and interpreter. She asked her stepfather to go with us to dig the roots, which is a strenuous task. The securing of the roots took an entire day, although we also collected a number of other products for our natural dyes. Eleanor and I spent another day pounding these roots (and others) and preparing them for boiling. The boiling and dyeing itself took only a few hours. When we finished with all this we had enough wool dyed the color we sought to make a stripe two or three inches wide on a blanket not more than three feet wide. If we allow for the fact that we were ignorant and unskilled, the effort required even by an expert may be comprehended. A few

women make bed-size blankets with a background of this color.

The root bark of the mountain mahogany produces many shades from light tannish-pink to deep magenta and rose or even a red which cannot be distinguished from the red of aniline dye. A woman who produced this red told me that she had boiled the yarn in a concentrated solution of the root bark five times.

The most difficult colors to secure with available native products are red (not pink or rose), blue and green (not yellow), and purple. Nevertheless the women of the Black Mountain region made blankets which are daring in color but contain pleasing combinations of yellow, rose, purple, and black. These blankets show exceptional technique and artistic ability, but they are not popular on the market because they are necessarily high-priced, and even more particularly because the majority of the buying public does not know them and feels them to be atypical. However, they have had a brilliant past, they enjoy a quiet and appreciative present, and the revival predicts for them a hopeful future.

There is a general rule for dyeing with vegetable and mineral products, which is subject to only slight modifications. If the part of the plant used—root, bark, twigs—be hard or dried, it should be pounded or ground to break up the fibers so that as much color as possible may be secured. The ground material will then be boiled, the time and concentration depending upon the amount of wool to be colored and the shade desired. The decoction is then strained and the clear solution is boiled again with the natural mordant called rock salt, a mineral which contains aluminum and is found only at particular points on the reservation, although it is reasonably abundant there. This mineral is not often found near the supply of plants used. We obtained our rock salt from a man who got it thirty-five miles from us in a direction different from that where the mountain mahogany grows.

The mineral has a very high melting point. Most women heat it in a skillet to the proper consistency. Red Point, skilled in making (burning) black ash from many plants for

medicine and ritual, prefers to burn it on hot coals and is willing to do this for the women of his family. Nowadays salt and baking soda are sometimes used as a substitute, although they are not really completely adequate to prevent fading.

After the clear dye has been boiled with the mordant about fifteen minutes the skein or skeins of clean, damp wool are immersed in the preparation and boiled until the desired shade is attained. This may be ten or twenty minutes for a light shade, but a whole day may be needed for certain colors, green for instance. The yarn is usually left in the dye bath until it has thoroughly cooled; then it is washed in yucca suds, rinsed, and dried.

Of all the colors made, yellow is the easiest to produce. Almost any plant with yellow flowers will yield to it, and it may be obtained by boiling leaves and stems of other plants. With the exception of the dock root, all we tried produced soft, pleasant shades of yellow whether they were light or dark.

Yellow which varies under slightly different treatment from pale lemon to deep orange may be made from the root of dock (*canaigre*) or sorrel. This is generally used for the yellows because it grows abundantly in certain localities, furnishes a large amount of dye material with a minimum of labor, and requires no mordant. The reason for this is its own content of tannic acid, a content so high that the root has been used for tanning hides.

All dyes should be steeped in nonmetallic vessels, but if the dock root be boiled in an aluminum kettle a beautiful red-brown or mahogany color may be secured. This we learned by accident but we have since discovered that many Navajo women are aware of the reaction and use metal kettles when they want this color. This is the kind of thing they do not tell you, not so much because it is a secret as because they either do not think of it or do not generalize.

A few women make a bright lemon yellow by crushing the fresh, fleshy root of the dock on a metate and rubbing the resulting paste into the yarn until it is evenly colored.

Soft shades of yellow are readily achieved by treating yellow flowers according to the general rule. Almost any

yellow flowers will do. The most commonly used are the goldenrods and a weed recently introduced in the Southwest, variously called South American rubber plant or sneezeweed named "owl's claw" by the Navajos.

The color secured from a concoction treated in the usual way cannot be distinguished from that made from owl's claw, and a bright, clear yellow is made from mistletoe, a parasite on juniper.

A Navajo woman told me, and her information is corroborated by Amsden,¹ that a real green may be made if the leaves and stems, but not the blossoms of goldenrod are boiled. She said, "Take lots and boil it long, all day." The green will be successful (not yellowish) only if the plant be used according to these directions early in the season when it is young and succulent. I have seen this green but I have never seen a woman make it.

I have questioned many Navajos, most of them experts and authorities, and they agree except for the example given above that green and blue are secured only by the use of indigo. Indigo is a natural vegetable dye but it is not native to the Navajo country. It has been an article of trade for many years, perhaps even before the white man came. Its absence as a native plant does not rule it out of consideration in this connection and does not explain the Navajo reticence in furnishing information upon the subject. Many old women have said when they would not tell me how to do it, "Give me your yarn and I will dye it blue or green." In every case it turned out that the hesitancy was based on the fact that indigo is used with urine. The process is exactly the same as that used by the Hopi and many other tribes, and the prudishness inculcated by the white teachers causes them to withhold information, although it does not prevent them from using the method which includes the perfect solvent.

The indigo is dissolved in urine, and the yarn immersed in it is allowed to stand until the desired depth of color is secured. Fifteen days is long enough for a dark navy. Then it is rinsed often, sometimes as many as fifteen times.

At Black Mountain I was told that blue was made from

¹ *Navajo Weaving*, p. 85.

the petals of the larkspur, but as I have never been in the Navajo country when the larkspur blossoms I have never tried it. Mrs. Ninaba Bryan, instructor in weaving at the Burke Vocational School, has experimented with every plant she has heard of. She tells me she had no success with larkspur.

Another possible source of blue is one of the molybdenum compounds closely allied to ilsemanite, a compound previously used by dye manufacturers until it was replaced by synthetic indigo. This substance was satisfactory for dyeing silk, but was poor for cotton. However, since silk is an animal fiber, the blue would doubtless be good for wool. Some of the Navajos used this product and perhaps traded it from Ouray in northeastern Utah where it occurs in a large deposit. Presumably this substance was treated like indigo.²

The method of making green, once blue is available, is characteristic of the Navajos. They soak the yarn blue with indigo in the manner described, then dye it in a dock root bath.

I have already referred to the various dull shades of red and red-brown in illustrating the difficulty of procuring mountain mahogany roots and the labor entailed in preparing it. Bright red is a hard color to get from native products although the tans, roses, and pinks are not. In order to obtain the brilliant pinks or magenta, ashes are made by burning juniper twigs and the bark of black alder. A small amount of these and a handful of ground lichen are added to the decoction made of root bark and the whole is boiled to the desired concentration. This was the formula used by the woman who secured cardinal or crimson. She boiled her yarn in it five times but allowed it to dry without rinsing between boilings. It is possible that oxidation caused some change in color.

Another bright red is made from very ripe fruit of the prickly pear. To about two quarts of the fruit a handful of rock salt and a handful of bark or roots of Colorado blue spruce are added, all are steeped in two gallons of water.

² I am indebted to Lorenzo Hubbell for this information and to Edwin Eckel of the U. S. Geological Survey for the report on it.

The Navajos use a great many kinds of tans and browns. There is a sheep brown, a color which cannot be defined for it varies for each sheep and according to the part of the body from which it is taken. This comes under the category of natural colors but is by no means the only tan or brown used. The colors are favorites with the weavers and there are clear and muddy representatives running a long gamut of shades. Like the yellows, they may be made from a variety of plants.

A good tan is secured by boiling leaves and stems of the cliff rose and adding a small amount of juniper branches. When boiled in an enamel vessel this formula yielded a tan with a yellow cast. As was the case with the mountain mahogany, when an aluminum kettle was used the tinge was pinkish.

The stems of "Navajo tea," a plant which grows in infrequent patches, may be used to produce the pinkish-tan also.

I was told that purple can be made from the petals of the four o'clock, steeping them for only a brief time and following the ordinary procedure. They, like the larkspur, are difficult to obtain in a quantity sufficiently large; therefore, my own test of this formula was not successful. I suspect that the deep purple used extensively by the Black Mountain weavers is a combination of indigo and red.

A Navajo blanket sold as "vegetable dyed" should if it contains black have that black dyed in the old-fashioned way. Even black wool must be dyed, otherwise it soon turns brown or reddish. The vegetable black is a trying dye to make. It is really a tannin ink, the chief ingredient of which, lamp-black, must be made by the Navajo. The tannin-yielding body is secured by boiling twigs, leaves, and berries of the aromatic sumac for a long time. The boiling doubtless partially transforms the tannin into gallic acid. A second necessity is an iron salt. The Navajos secure this by burning yellow ocher until a different iron oxide (red ocher) is formed. A mucilaginous agent is a further requirement to keep the insoluble matter in suspension. For this, gum from the pine or piñon is used.

None of these elements is too difficult to procure but it is remarkable how the early natives learned to understand,

even empirically, the complexities involved. Add to the complications of the formula the difficulties of combination, and the discovery of this process must almost be considered an invention. The combination of powdered ocher and gum is highly inflammable, yet it must be heated sufficiently for carbonization to take place without igniting the mixture. The skill and patience necessary to accomplish this delicate task are exactly of the kind learned by the medicine men in pursuing their art of healing, and I consider it likely that their experience may have given rise to this discovery.

Be that as it may, the sticky mass is heated and dried until lampblack is formed and when the iron salt combines with the tannins made from the sumac the lampblack remains finely suspended giving body to the mixture and making it black. The result is an ink which takes well on wool, being an even, fast dye. A gray-blue tinge is achieved by dipping white wool in a weak black-dye bath.

The dye formulae of the Navajo show their knowledge of certain basic facts which, even though they cannot formulate, they nevertheless use successfully. Many of the plants used contain tannin in larger or smaller quantities. The reactions of the tannic and gallic acids are so complicated that they are not fully understood by our own chemists. Some of the weavers, but not all, know that plants rich in tannin like dock and walnut, do not require a mordant. Others, slaves to pattern and unamenable to experiment, always add rock salt regardless of the plant used. The whole situation is one of trial and error, but long ago, doubtless before they were directly influenced by the whites, the Navajos had discovered rock salt as mordant. The development of black ink, which seems also to antedate white teaching, is the most astounding of all the items.

The reader may notice that in the formulae I have given, I have rarely referred to the amount of each item used, and when I have it has been in terms "a little," "about," "a handful," nothing definite. The reason for this is that the Navajo, like a good cook, does not measure anything exactly but rather uses her judgment. The general rule holds that the coloring matter is used in large amounts and that mordants

or other modifying elements are used in relatively small amounts. One can never learn from what a Navajo *says* just how much to use but must discover it through actual participation in each dyeing process. There are always slight modifications of the procedure which the Navajo worker would not think of mentioning but which she knows and practices. These can easily be learned if the novice will help in each process as it is undertaken.



A variant of the diamond weave in three colors.

Not only does the weaver love to teach, but she is interested also in experimentation and she carries on a lot of it of her own initiative. Even if she does not think of new combinations herself she nevertheless likes to try new ideas if someone gives her a lead or starts her off. A complete understanding of the lore and art of natural dyeing would demand that a student go through the entire yearly cycle working in close confidence and co-operation with an interested and intelligent weaver.

There will doubtless never be complete and accurate control of all the elements which go into the making of natural dyes as long as the Navajos retain their identity. The reason for this is that the life of a Navajo camp is a thing quite casual, simple, and apparently unregulated. It seems so because the technique of living is worked out thoroughly enough to demonstrate great virtuosity. Not until he undertakes it himself does one realize the attainment achieved through such simple means as are at hand.

These means are constantly variable. Today I have much water, next week I have none. I may decide to dye the color which requires a whole day of boiling and have everything I need but only a little wood. I may have much wool and little dye material, or little yarn and much dye material. I may have everything I need except the handful of lichen or blue spruce. In some cases I must put off my work until another day when wood, water, yarn, and dye are available at the same time. In other cases I use makeshifts; if I have no Colorado spruce I may try a handful of juniper or lacking sagebrush and needing yellow, I shall be able to use owl's claw. With a large amount of one color I want to use and a small amount of another, I may proceed in spite of circumstances but I change the design I had in mind for my new blanket.

The progressive Navajo weaver will have most of the things she needs on hand. If she does not have everything, instead of increasing her resources she is likely to exert her resourcefulness. Sometimes she is not satisfied with the modified solution of her problem, but frequently she likes her new idea as well as, or better than, her original one.

The modern conscious attempts at scientific control of conditions have so far, in my opinion, resulted in blankets, which though beautiful, lack character and originality. When the Navajos come as a people to live in white man's houses and to measure their water, color pigment, and mordant in exact proportions there will be no vegetable-dye blankets. These things are incompatible.

EXPERIENCES OF AN INDIAN SCOUT

PART TWO

EXCERPTS FROM THE LIFE OF JOHN ROPE, AN OLD-TIMER
OF THE WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHES

(as told to Grenville Goodwin)

After we had stayed quite a while at Fort Thomas, I asked for leave to go and see my people with my sergeant at Fort Apache. They granted it to us and let us have a mule to ride. Early in the morning I started out on foot, not bothering to eat anything but just putting on my best clothes and taking my rifle. When I got to Navajo Point, the sergeant caught up to me, riding the mule. He said, "You travel fast. I have been trying to catch up and have had a hard time." I got on the mule, and we rode double. At the subagency we stopped at the camp of an old man to try and get something to eat. The old man said, "You scouts have lots of food, I have nothing here to give you." He did not want us to stop there so we kept on, crossing the Gila River opposite Dewey Flat to a big wash where we camped for the night. We had no food with us at all.

The next morning we started early when the morning star was up just a little way; we went through Warm Springs on Ash Creek and up by Rocky Creek. There were always people camped here this time of year, but now there was no one, even at Rocky Creek. We didn't know what to make of this. Later on from a distance we saw two women grinding something. When we got there, we saw a girl was grinding acorns. Acorns were ground for eating on a stone metate with a stone mano. Her mother was boiling some meat. We told them to hurry up with their cooking. They made some acorn gravy, coffee, and tortillas for us. The woman said that the sergeant's wives, he had two, were camped at a place near Bear Canyon and that he would find them there. In former times a man among the Western Apache could have more than one wife if he was able to support them. This practice went out of use many years ago,

and now a man never has more than one wife. We went to the camp but found only their tracks going toward Black River. Just before we got to Black River, there was a heavy rain. We covered up with our blankets, but it didn't do much good. We hurried to get across the river before it got too high. From the top of the hill we could see a lot of smoke and knew that there must be many camps down there. When we got in we went to the camp of the sergeant's brother and left the mule there, borrowing a horse in its place. This brother said that the sergeant's family left for Fort Apache the day before.

There was a steep trail out of this place. The sergeant rode on ahead on the horse, and I walked behind. I was wearing high moccasins folded over at the tops. The dress moccasin of the Western Apache was a boot-like affair with buckskin uppers reaching to the thigh when unfolded. However, the uppers were usually folded down around the calf; the soles were of rawhide. My moccasins got wet so I took one of them off; the other one was too tight to get off. Pretty soon I got a bad pain in my knee. I could not walk, so I shot off my rifle to call the sergeant back. He came back and said to put my moccasin on again. We then rode double past "Soft Grass" and on down to the White River. Just about sundown we got to Fort Apache. My family was camped near the Fort, and I went to stay with my brother who was a chief.

The day after this a young boy who was of my clan went out hunting and killed a little deer. On his way back he met an old medicine man. This medicine man was no good and he said, "Give me that little deer." But the boy would not and went on home with it. That night this boy started to vomit blood, and also he bled at the nose. They could not stop the bleeding and he died that night. The old medicine man had put a spell on the boy and caused him to die. They came and notified me. Next morning I went over and took all my new clothes I was wearing—shirt, vest, drawers, hat, and all—and gave it to the family to dress the boy for burial.

Now the sergeant said to me, "Let's go and get some rations at the agency. All scouts, if they had a ticket of leave,

could draw rations. But the agent would not give us rations. He telegraphed to Fort Thomas to the officer there, and the officer telegraphed back that we had drawn no rations before leaving and to give us ten days' rations. So we drew meat, flour, coffee, sugar, bacon, and some canned fruit. In nine days we two scouts and my younger brother started back for Fort Thomas. The first night we got to Soldier's Hole. The next day we crossed over Hooker Mesa and arrived at Fort Thomas.

The following day the officer said we would all move up to Fort Apache. Some of us went on horse, some on foot. We went by the old Summit Road and on over the mountain north of old Summit. From here we could see no camps up on east fork where our people always camped. This looked queer, and we thought maybe there had been trouble and they had gone on the warpath. Even if they had gone on the warpath we were still scouts and would have to fight for the white men. When we got near Fort Apache we met an Indian who told us that one of our chiefs, Hac-ke-ha-yi-la, had been killed by the Tca-tcidn people. The Tca-tcidns were a small band of Cibecue people living on the upper north fork of White River. He also said the reason our people were not camped on the east fork was because they had moved their camps to the foot of the hill near the fort. Our pack mules were at the fort so we went there. Next day our relatives gave us hide for our moccasin soles.

Notice was sent out among the camps that they wanted twenty more men to enlist as scouts and join our company. The first day only fifteen joined, but the next day five more joined. Then we started out for Fort Thomas. From Hooker Mesa on to Fort Thomas I loaned my horse to another scout and walked. When I got in my knee was in bad shape again. The sergeant went to the officer and tried to get him to send me back, but the officer said that the one that could give orders to that effect was at Fort Grant. He wired to Fort Grant about it and got word back to let me ride along with my company. The next morning they gave me a mule to ride with an army saddle. We camped that night at Cedar Springs. On the way we had passed a lot of prickly pear plants. The fruit was ripe and one old scout, Hac-ke-na-nil,

ate quite a lot of this. That night he got sick and started to belch; he had bad breath and his stomach was hurting. The next day they took him to a Chiricahua camp where they were gathering yucca fruit and asked if they had any medicine for him. They had none at all. We went on by the north end of Graham Mountain. The sick man was riding a horse some distance ahead of us other scouts. Pretty soon when we were near Cedar Springs, he could ride the horse no longer and slipped off, lying at the side of the road. He said it was as if something was cutting his insides with knives. Two scouts came back and met us to get help. When we got there two men who knew the coyote medicine went to him and cured him right away. What had happened was that he had eaten some fruit which a coyote had contaminated.

That is the way it is. If you eat anything or touch anything that a coyote or dog has "visited" and then touch your mouth, you get coyote sickness. Even if a coyote only bites the fruit, it is just as bad. There are different sicknesses and, therefore, there are various kinds of medicine men for the different sicknesses. Any sickness contracted from the canine family is handled by medicine men who know the coyote medicine. This man was nearly dead but the two medicine men cured him right away.

The day we got into Fort Grant, the officer said for the medicine man to take the sick man back to Fort Apache, but the sick man said, "I am all right now." Here they issued rifles and outfits to the twenty new scouts. Then we moved on south to Antelope's Water, past where Willcox now is, to some springs, and then to Fort Bowie. Here we stopped three days to fix our moccasins and get ready. The night before we left Fort Bowie we held a war dance. The officers came down to watch us. About midnight they went back and then we had a social dance. There were no women with us, but some of the men acted as women, and we danced with them as partners. This is the way they always used to do for a good time when on the warpath.

Now we went on to where Bowie Station now is, then south up the San Simon Valley to Cave Creek, to the southeast end of the Chiricahua Mountains, to the northeast end of the Sierra Espuela, to the head of Guadalupe Canyon,

and to "Round Mountain." From here we went down a long canyon to the southwest and camped at its end. There were lots of soldiers camped here with us. Then we went to the west side of the Hachita Mountains and made camp where there were lots of ash trees. Here a band of Chiricahuas joined us. Their leader was Chihuahua, one of the main chiefs of the Chiricahua Apaches. They were not real scouts but came along with us to help scout all the same. Chihuahua used to be a good friend of mine. From this place the officer said to send fifteen scouts and ten soldiers ahead to keep a lookout for the enemy Chiricahua. The rest were to follow behind. We went ahead and kept in touch with the main body by sending notes back and forth. We came to lots of black, rocky hills. Here there were many deer which we shot at. One was killed, and another was wounded and fell dead near me so I claimed it. This deer was fat, and we butchered it. I got the hide and one hind quarter and tied the meat up in the hide. Pretty soon we came to some rock tanks where there was water. Here we stopped, and the officer with us wrote a letter back to the main column. I left my deer hide and meat on top of a yucca plant right beside the trail, with a sign on it that it was mine. The friendly Chiricahua did the same with their deer, on the other side of the trail. This way the meat and hides would be put on the pack mules when they came along. From here we could see a big, long mountain range, and between us and it was a long open valley, the Animas Valley of New Mexico.

We started out to cross this valley and struck the old road to Janos, Chihuahua, which we followed, finally coming to a big river where we ate our supper. It made a loop right around the mountain which we had seen from across the valley. This mountain was Hachita Mountain, I think. After supper we crossed the river. This river was one like we had never seen before. You could not tell which way it ran because the current was so slow. We went up on top of the mountain and made camp there. Late that night I woke up and could hear Apaches talking some place. We thought it might be the enemy Chiricahuas, but it turned out to be some

scouts who had been sent to catch up with us from the main column. We called to them and gave them some food to eat. The next morning we went down the other side of the mountain and struck the same river again. It ran over some rocks here, so we could tell which way it was going. We made camp at this place to wait for the main column to catch up. They did not show up, so two scouts were sent back to the mountain to see where they were. When the troops had come to the river they had taken the wrong canyon to the left. Now we all went back, cutting across country to where we thought the troops should be. Pretty soon there was a lot of dust in the distance. We watched to see if it might be Mexican soldiers, but it was our own troops, and we went to meet them. As soon as camp was made, we unpacked our mule, got the grub out and cooked, as we had had no food for a long time. At that place we all stayed two days. One of the white soldiers, who wore a buckskin shirt, shot himself in the arm. The doctor had to take the bullet out, and he got all right again. Now the officer said we would go back to where we first saw the river. The scouts were sent out ahead to look for signs. We ran across a lot of deer and killed some, getting into camp after the soldiers.

Na-gu-tline¹ was sergeant of our company. He and I are the only ones still alive from that scouting expedition. From this camp we started back the way we had come, over the old Janos road. Twelve of us scouts got permission to go and hunt deer over near Hachita Mountain. The officer told us that if we were needed because of trouble, a big fire would be built to signal us to come. We went over to the mountain and there killed lots of deer. They were all fat. I packed one into camp, and a boy carried the other. That night we watched for a signal fire. The next morning we could see lots of smoke, but we waited for a while to see what would happen. If we got separated from the soldiers, we would go back to Fort Bowie. Pretty soon we could see the soldiers and scouts coming our way, making lots of dust, so we started out to hunt again. We killed more deer and also some mountain sheep. There were lots of them there. They ran

¹ Na-gu-tline died at Bylas in 1932.

together like burros and could go up or down a steep place just as if they were walking on the level. The old-timers used to say that when you were out hunting mountain sheep if you hid behind brush or grass they could not see you, but that if you hid behind any kind of rock they could see you right through the rock.² The soldiers came to the foot of the mountain and started to make camp. We waited on the mountain till all the unpacking and cooking was done, and then we went down to them, carrying our game.

At this place we stayed two days, then moved to the side of Round Mountain.³ There were lots of antelope here. When we first jumped them they scattered, and then they all came together and ran in a long line. We moved on around Round Mountain keeping five men out ahead to look for signs of enemy Chiricahuas. Then we went on to Guadalupe Canyon and Cave Creek. There was lots of water this time. The soldiers camped above us. We didn't know it, but they washed their clothes that day. The next morning when we boiled the water for our coffee it tasted of soap, and we threw it out. The water in the creek was full of soap. We ate only bread and meat. Now we moved camp northward, then to Turkey Creek, and then to Fort Bowie.

There were lots of scouts at Fort Bowie now, and we played hoop and poles. I played with one Chiricahua man. With the first game I won his moccasins; the second, his new saddle; the third, his new lot of calico; and then we quit. I used to play hoop and poles a lot and always had good luck. Some Indians threw the pole too soon, but I used to wait till the hoop was just about to fall and then threw the pole under it. It was as if I knew where the hoop was going to fall every time. The other Indians knew this about me.

Now our time was about up, so they took our outfits and rifles away from us, and we set out for home. The first day we got to some springs, then Antelope's Water, then Fort Grant, then Cottonwood Wash, and then Fort Thomas. Here we stayed two days and drew forty dollars pay. Then we set out for Fort Apache, going by way of Soldier's Hole

² This belief was actually put in practice by the old-timers.

³ Near Animas Valley.

and Black River. Here at the end of ten days we were discharged and drew seventy-nine dollars pay. Some scouts used to like to draw their full uniforms and others didn't. Money was refunded to the ones that did not draw them.

My youngest brother was waiting for me at Fort Apache with horses to take me home. Our family was camped right above Rice, and we found them there. From here we all moved to a point opposite Gila Bank on the Gila River. Then we moved to Dewey Flats. In a couple of days a lot of our people camped on the mesa near us. There the whites were taking the number of people in each family, and our subagent, "Crooked Nose," was giving out ration tickets to every man. Some were red and some were green. I rode over near there but did not go in to get my ticket as there were lots of girls I knew; I was bashful so I just stood behind my horse. Some of my relatives got my ticket for me.⁴

Mickey Free was raised by my father. He was given to him by the San Carlos people when a little boy. Mickey and I were brought up together, so we called each other brothers. He is dead now, but his son Willie Free is still living at San Carlos, and I call him my nephew. Mickey used to have long red hair.⁵

After I had been back at the reservation quite a while, they enlisted twenty-five reservation police. I joined up as a policeman this time and was on duty quite a while. The Cibecue people over at Cibecue had been making trouble and killed some American soldiers a while back.⁶ The men who had done this were now renegades, and it was our duty to

⁴ When drawing the weekly rations, the owners of the tickets presented them, and they were punched by government men.

⁵ Mickey Free was a full-blooded Mexican, stepson of Antonio Ward and was captured by Apaches of the San Carlos when a small boy and brought up among the White Mountain Apaches. It was as the result of his capture that Cochise went on the warpath. See Connell's *Apaches Past and Present*; also Ward's manuscript. For many years he was government interpreter among the Western Apaches. He was given to John Rope's father as a captive and raised with the family.

⁶ This fight, in 1881, between U. S. troops and the Cibecue people was the result of the attempted arrest of a medicine man at Cibecue, in which the said medicine man was killed by the soldiers.

catch them. Some we caught and turned over to Crooked Nose, and others we let go to give them another chance. Finally all that we were after were rounded up and held at Fort Apache, then sent on to San Carlos. "Metal Tooth"⁷ was among these; he was a Carrizo chief. Altogether there were about forty of the prisoners. They were loaded into big wagons and taken off to Tucson and put in jail. About six months after this they brought them back from Tucson through the subagency. There was an officer who rode in front, followed by Metal Tooth dressed in an officer's coat, and the rest of them in column of twos. They took them up to San Carlos, where all their wives had come to meet them.

There were still lots of renegades at liberty even after this. Na-di-ka-a, a White Mountain man, was one of them. He had killed one white man and two Indians. Chino's⁸ brother and the uncle of one of these Indians who had been killed by this renegade caught Na-di-ka-a. They started out to take him to San Carlos, riding. Na-di-ka-a thought sure they would kill him on the way because they were relatives of the men he had killed. He tied a piece of calico around his eyes and rode that way so he would not see them reach for their guns to shoot him. When they finally got to the river crossing, and San Carlos lay right across where he could see it, he knew that they were not going to kill him, and it was as if he started to live again. They put him in the jail there. When this renegade had been in jail about a day, he asked one of the two police who were guarding him to let him out to attend the call of nature. They did so, and he came back all right. They used to keep ten soldiers and ten police always on guard at nights at San Carlos. They ought to have put chains on this renegade in the jail, but they didn't do so. In the early morning he asked again to be let out. They let him out, and he went to the far side of a building as before. From here he ran fast toward an adobe wall, put his hands up on it, jumped over and ran for the arroyo. The guards shouted that he had got away. It

⁷ This chief was known as Sánchez, and he later became one of the main chiefs of the Carrizo band. He has been dead for a number of years.

⁸ Chino is an old man now living at Bylas.

was still dark, and they could see only his gee string, which was white. They shot at this but missed. The two men who had brought him in heard what had happened when the news was telegraphed to the subagency.

Right across from the subagency on the high mesa were camped lots of White Mountain people. The renegade's relatives were there too. Crooked Nose sent word for a man called 'Al-xel and a man called Yu-lane, both relatives of the renegade, to come into this subagency. They came in and had a talk. Crooked Nose said to 'Al-xel that he wanted him to go out and kill this renegade, that if he did so he would become a chief among his people, and he would also get paid for it. Also if he got this renegade, they would stop hunting down the other renegades who were his relatives. "All right," 'Al-xel said, "we will get him." So the agent gave him a police rifle, five boxes of cartridges, matches, tobacco, some grub, a good belt, and a black-handled butcher knife like the men used to carry in those days. These two men got on their horses now and rode back to their camp. The next day they saw the renegade near the camp, riding on a buckskin horse which he had found hobbled. His wife was riding behind him. They were going up a wash. 'Al-xel stood about three hundred yards from them, and so when he shot he missed the man, but hit the horse's hind legs. The woman ran down the wash and hid. The renegade got off the horse and started to run up the side of a hill, out of sight. 'Al-xel started after him on foot and Yu-lane rode around the side of the hill to head him off. On the top of the hill the renegade hid behind a creosote bush. 'Al-xel ran up the hill where he had seen him go. When he got to the top he was out of breath. The renegade had a knife and he jumped out at 'Al-xel, who got scared and instead of shooting him like he should have done, turned and ran down the hill. The renegade ran after him, and as he came he made medicine on 'Al-xel with jaguar, saying, "Now I'll jump on you and kill you like jaguar would do." This renegade had some kind of jaguar medicine. 'Al-xel couldn't do anything. 'Al-xel got cut in the abdomen and slashed on the head. The renegade's wife

was standing right there. There was one man watching all this from a little hill, but he was too weak and lazy and did not even shoot. He was afraid he would get killed so only called for Yu-lane. The White Mountain people came over and reported to the subagency what was going on. We police ran to cross the river. It was high, and so we took off our moccasins and left them on the bank, thinking that the fight was not far off. From across the river the people were shouting to us to hurry. We thought it was the renegade who got killed, but when we got there we found 'Al-xel dead. The renegade had taken the rifle and cartridges off him and had run up the arroyo. He had his hand cut badly and had run with his wife up into a cave under the bluff. Here he stopped to bandage the hand. We trailed him by the blood on the ground, and when we got up into the canyon and saw that he had not stopped yet, we turned back. When we got back to the subagency lots of people were around the agency building. That same day a boy called Guc-hujn (Wrinkled Neck) was at Indian Springs looking for horses. He met the renegade up there. The renegade came over to him and said, "Today I killed 'Al-xel down there. I made jaguar medicine on him and grabbed him like a jaguar and killed him. I was like jaguar. This belt and gun I took from him. From now on I am going to kill everyone I meet, no matter if he is my relative or not. But I know about you, boy, you have always been very poor and have never had much. You have had a hard time. I don't want to kill you, so go on home. But if I meet you again after this, then look out for yourself, because I will kill you." Guc-hujn came on back to the subagency and told what had happened to him. Crooked Nose heard about it and sent for the boy. When he got there, he made him tell all that the renegade had said.

Not long after this, the Chiricahua came up from the Sierra Madre with Geronimo.⁹ They went to San Carlos, got the Warm Springs people, and took them back to Mexico

⁹ Geronimo was really a medicine man, and it was from this fact that he gained most of his influence among his people.

(1882).¹⁰ The Warm Springs people were camped just east of San Carlos on a high bluff by the river. The other people who ran off were the people of Nachise,¹¹ Chato,¹² and Chiricahuas. The Chiricahuas in Mexico had heard somehow about the killing of the white soldiers at Cibecue and thought that now would be a good time to get their friends, the Warm Springs people, to run off to Mexico. On their way up from Mexico to San Carlos they passed near where San Simon now is. Here two of them, Go-ya-hn and Gi-nas-zi-hn, stole four good horses from some cowboys at a ranch. These two men said they were going to take their horses back to Mexico first before they went to San Carlos, and so they started back. They went by Sierra del Tigre, then north of Carretas, near Bavispe,¹³ and a little over toward Janos where there is a high mountain with pine trees on it.¹⁴ Here some Mexicans saw the two Chiricahuas coming with the horses. The Mexicans lay in wait for them and managed to capture both men. They took them to a Mexican fort near by in a canyon. Here the Mexican officer questioned them. He wanted to know where the rest of the Chiricahuas were and where these two were coming from. The two Chiricahuas said that the rest had gone up to San Carlos and that they had left them two days ago. The Mexican wanted to know how long the others would be gone. The two Chiricahuas said it would take them about four days to get up to San Carlos and that they would probably be back in about twelve days. The Mexican officer said that if these two Chiricahuas were telling the truth, they would let them go unhurt, but if they were lying they would be killed. Now

¹⁰ Many of the Chiricahuas were already down in Mexico, having left San Carlos in 1881, and so they wanted the rest of their people, with the Warm Springs group, to leave San Carlos and join them.

¹¹ Nachise was one of the main chiefs of the Chiricahuas. He was the son of Cochise, at one time the main chief of the Chiricahuas.

¹² Chato was a member of the Chiricahuas. He is still living (1935) on the Mescalero Reservation, New Mexico.

¹³ Bavispe is south of Carretas in Sonora.

¹⁴ Probably Sierra Cochita Hueca.



Chato, one of the main chiefs of the Chiricahua Apaches. This photo was taken about 1886.

all the Mexicans were notified to get ready. It was this time that they killed so many of the Warm Springs people.¹⁵

The rest of the Chiricahuas had kept on their way to San Carlos. All their women had been left behind in Mexico. They came up near Eagle Creek, then on down Ash Flat where Stevens' old ranch was.¹⁶ Richard Bylas' father was camped there as well as Hac-ke-ha-da-dol-ni-he, It-lan-di-djo-le and Hac-ke-be-d'i, all of them White Mountain men. The last three were working for Stevens, helping take care of his sheep. The Chiricahuas came first to Hac-ke-be-d'i where he was herding some wethers. They asked him if there were many Indians living here. He told them no, just a few. Then the Chiricahuas killed all the lambs and started to cook them. These Chiricahuas got all of our people who were there and put them under guard. Stevens had nine Mexicans working for him also. There were three Mexican women with them. The Chiricahuas went on towards Bylas' camp. Bylas¹⁷ saw them coming and drank down a part of a bottle of whiskey he had before they got there. Geronimo came in to Bylas' camp and sat down. Bylas' partner, Na-'il-hiz-'a, and this man's son, 'I-dil-na-dzid, were there also. Geronimo saw that Bylas had been drinking lately. "I know you," he said. "You always have some whiskey around. Give me a bottle." Bylas said he had none, but Geronimo kept on asking him for whiskey. Finally the boy, 'I-dil-na-dzid got mad. He said to Geronimo, "This man (Bylas) is not a boy for you to talk to this way and keep on asking for whiskey. He won't give you any whiskey." Now Geronimo said to bring all the Mexicans here. Bes-das, a Mexican, was the foreman. He had married a White Mountain women who was of the Black Water clan and had a boy there who was

¹⁵ After the Chiricahuas had left San Carlos with the Warm Springs people, they headed into Mexico. Not far from Carretas, Chihuahua, a body of Mexican troops ambushed them, and in the fight that followed 167 of the Apaches were killed and 52 of them, mainly women and children, were taken prisoners.

¹⁶ This was the white man, Stevens, who has been mentioned before as marrying a White Mountain woman.

¹⁷ Bylas was one of the White Mountain chiefs. The present settlement of Bylas was named for him.



Geronimo and his Chiricahua warriors. Geronimo is standing in the center, Nachise on the extreme right. This photograph was taken before the surrender to General Crook in 1886.

about twenty-five years old. The Chiricahua head man said, "This boy is a full-blooded Mexican, he is no Apache." The other White Mountain man there said, "No, he is not a Mexican. He is a full-blooded White Mountain, and his mother is of the Black Water clan, so he is also."¹⁸ Then the Chiricahuas asked Bylas what the boy was, and he answered he was a White Mountain. After this talk the Chiricahuas tied up all the Mexicans. Right there they killed the nine men and two Mexican women. The third woman got away and ran to the foot of the hill, but they killed her there. Bes-das' boy they did not kill. Now the Chiricahuas left two men behind to guard the White Mountain women lest they should get to San Carlos and report what was happening. All the White Mountain men they took along with them under guard. At first they had taken Bylas' horse away from him, but now they gave it back to him and let him ride it. They made their next camp on the south side of Ash Flat.¹⁹ Here Geronimo said he would make medicine and find out what was going on at San Carlos. He sang only four songs.²⁰ The medicine told him that all was going to be well on their way to San Carlos. The Chiricahuas used to have good medicine, and this was why all the people, both whites and Apaches, slept so soundly that night. From this camp they traveled all night, stopping to rest near the Gila River opposite the sub-agency. Then they started on again, keeping four men ahead, crossed the river and went on over Dewey Flat to the old Wagon Road. At this time there were forty police on the San Carlos Reservation scattered among the camps. Geronimo said he was going to send three men into every camp to kill all these police. It was still night, and just east of San Carlos they stopped in the brush along the river. Here it was starting to get light. One of the men threw a pebble up in the air, and they could see it, so they knew it would soon be dawn. This is the way the old-timers always used

¹⁸ Descent is always reckoned through the mother by these people.

¹⁹ About opposite Arsenic Springs.

²⁰ Four is a sacred number among the Apaches. Geronimo by singing the four songs was putting himself into a state so he might have second sight.

to do, in order to tell if it was near dawn. Now one of the head men of the Chiricahuas said to Geronimo, "I thought you were going to send three men into all the camps to kill all those police." But Geronimo would not answer him at all. They stayed there till sunup, then crossed the river to the Warm Springs camp. The Warm Springs people must have known somehow that the Chiricahuas had come, for that night they kept all their horses tied at their camp. Now Geronimo and the others went among the Warm Springs people and they all got ready to leave. A man named Stirling was head of police at San Carlos then. If any shot was fired, he always used to get on his horse and ride right down to the place he had heard it. Just as the Chiricahuas were leaving with the Warm Springs people they fired two shots for Stirling to come. Stirling heard and got on his horse to come over. The Apache chief of police got on a horse and came with him. One of the Chiricahuas named Na-guji hid on the trail and shot and killed Stirling when he came up. Stirling had on a pair of beaded moccasins, so Na-guji pulled these off and took them for himself. They told the Apache chief of police to go back as they did not want to shoot him, but he kept following them so they shot him also.

The Chiricahuas had already cut the telegraph wires from San Carlos to Globe and the subagency. Now they turned loose all the White Mountain men that they had brought from Ash Flat. Richard's (Bylas) father knew what was happening and went to the subagency. Both Crooked Nose and Seeden, the other white man there, were gone. But their wives were there. They thought Bylas was drunk and would not believe him. By this time they had sent men out who had mended the wires where they had been cut at Black Point and also west of the subagency, and now they got the news through. All of us police from San Carlos followed after the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people. At Gila Bank we found the body of the chief of police where he had been shot, and then we all turned back to San Carlos. At the subagency the people heard that the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people were on their way through, and everybody ran away toward Turnbull Mountain except twenty-five scouts and a white man who cooked for them, called Navajo

Bill. These stayed behind at the subagency. Their sergeant was M-ba'-djil-'a-ha, who opened five boxes of cartridges and told the scouts to fill their belts. The rest of the cartridges were put in a pit. Around this pit they all gathered so they could get in if fighting started. Their relatives told them they would get captured sure, but that they would be watching them from Turnbull Mountain, and if they did get in trouble they would come and help them.

When the Chiricahuas came through they said they didn't want to fight, but had only come to take their relatives away. So there was no trouble. There was a long line of the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people going along the north side of the Gila River. Right below Dewey Flats they had held up some freighters. The white men got away by running, but there was a lot of whiskey and some clothes in the wagons. The Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people helped themselves to these. My father and some other men came up to the Chiricahuas and got some liquor to drink from them. The river was high here, and the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people started to cross it. My father was a chief and he wanted to shoot the Chiricahuas while they were crossing the river, but the other men with him said no. The Chiricahuas had taken some of our horses, but had said they would give them back after a while. That is why the men were following them and why they did not want to start fighting.

The men who had been following the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people with my father turned back with him when these people crossed the river. They all went back to where the freighters were and started drinking whiskey and pulling out the goods. They just dipped the whiskey right out of the barrel and drank lots of it. That night my father did not come back to camp. The next day they found him dead; he had drunk too much. That same night one of my relatives, Ma-dje-le, also died from drinking; Ba-ba-dji-ba-ha, another man, got very sick from the same thing.

Twelve of us police were sent to follow the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people to see which way they went. We tracked them to Yellow Jacket. Here they had left one colt and killed a horse. I got the colt. Their next stop was east

of Yellow Jacket, where they could look back over their trail a long way. Then they went on to the east. We followed them this far and then turned back and reported. The next day I heard of my father's death.

Now all the scouts were notified and got together. They also moved all the Indians to San Carlos, and that was the only agency on the reservation from then on. All the white people were at San Carlos too. Some time after this we heard that some Chiricahuas had killed some of our people at Fort Apache. It was at that time that they issued a gun and belt to me and put me on special duty. I no longer was a policeman. I was just carrying arms to shoot the Chiricahuas if they should come. Sieber²¹ said that the Chiricahuas had killed some of my relatives, and so he was giving me this rifle to guard myself with. Later on he said he was going to make me a scout.

When they started enlisting scouts again, I joined. They kept us at San Carlos for a month, while they were getting together a hundred Indians for scouts. There were two sergeants for us White Mountain scouts, one was Do-'ac-t'in and the other I don't remember. The sergeants for the San Carlos scouts and Tontos were Tu-'is-ba, and Da-dih-nes-bine. The officer made some of the scouts practice shooting at this time; and Harvey Nac-kin²² was one of these. Before we left we had a big dance on the flat at Gila Bank and had lots of wood for our dance fire. First we had the war dance, and then the social dance. There were lots of White Mountain and San Carlos people and lots of girls and women. We danced all night. At this dance the head officer gave to our sergeant a kind of red cloth belt with a ball-like thing hanging on the end of it. The ball had tassels hanging from it like a Navajo blanket. He wore the belt over one shoulder and across his chest, with the ball hanging at his side. He danced with it.

We started out next day and went to the subagency, then

²¹ Sieber was a white man who was chief of scouts for many years at San Carlos. He was well known to all the people and was generally liked and respected.

²² Harvey Nashkin is now (1935) an old man and lives at Bylas.

to east of Yellow Jacket, then Eagle Creek, then south to the Gila River. There were lots of soldiers with us and Yavapai and Tonto scouts. We went on to Apache Pass, then Bowie Depot, then to another camp. From this place all the pack mules were sent in to Fort Bowie to load up with provisions. In two days they were back. We stayed here five days and then went on south to "Red Rocks Standing," then near where San Simon now is, then toward the north end of the Sierra Espuela, then Guadalupe Canyon. We stayed here for a while. Sergeant Do-'ac-t'in was riding a horse and still wearing the belt the officer had given him. We had with us also two Chiricahua women, who had left the Chiricahuas in Mexico and come back to San Carlos. From this place, Guadalupe Canyon, they sent twenty of us off for three days to Round Mountain to look for signs of the Chiricahuas.

The first night out we stopped and made camp. We had a medicine man with us, so we were going to find out if we would see the Chiricahuas or find their tracks. Na-ba-dji-ta-ha was the medicine man. He told twelve of us who had eagle feathers to sit in a line on one side and hold the eagle feathers in our hands with the arms stretched out in front. The medicine man sat on the opposite side with the other seven men to help him sing. Now he said, "No one must laugh while we are singing; if they do so it will be no good." When they started to sing we with the feathers closed our eyes and listened to the song. Our feathers commenced to get big and strong in our hands and started to move our arms from side to side. It was not we who moved our arms but the eagle feathers. Then one of the men singing, laughed a little. Right away the eagle feathers and our arms dropped straight down. The medicine man said, "You were afraid and wanted to know where the Chiricahuas were. You make fun while we are singing; now we won't know about the Chiricahuas." The next day we left our grub in this camp and started out to scout. We got back at noon. There were lots of deer here, and we killed some. The next day we started back to Guadalupe Canyon with our meat.

About one month later the paymaster came to our camp at Guadalupe Canyon and paid us. There was no store here

or any other place to spend our money, but there were a hundred of us scouts, and we gambled all the time. Our party had made a hoop and pole set while over at Round Mountain. Now we played hoop and pole a lot. We had a good time there, and the days passed quickly. They always kept guards out on two places to watch for the Chiricahuas. A while after this all of us started out for Sierra Espuela and camped near there at San Bernardino for four days. Then we went back to Guadalupe Canyon. The evening we got back to the main camp the officer called us scouts together. He said six of us and the two Chiricahua women were to go out for about one month and see if we could not locate the Chiricahuas. If we found them we were to send the two women to them to see if they could not get them to come back to San Carlos and be friends again. When the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people had run off from San Carlos, there had been three Western Apache men married and living with women among these people. They had persuaded the three men to go along with them. These three men were Tso'-'e, a Cibecue man; a man called Na-nod-di; and another man. All three of these men had left the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people in Mexico and come on back to San Carlos. Now they were acting as guides down into Mexico.²³

The six scouts who were chosen to go with the two Chiricahua women were Do-na-'il-da, a sergeant; Le-gudn-tel, a sergeant; both White Mountain men; M-ba'tcu'n-dal, Dja-n-de-zi, myself, and Na-nod-di. They gave a mule each to the women to ride and a mule to Na-nod-di and one pack mule to pack our grub on. We gave the pack mule to the women to take care of and started out on foot across the mesa. After a while we got to a canyon where Na-nod-di said the Chiricahuas always passed through. We crossed a place on the east side of the Sierra Espuela and camped on the other side of it. Here we all started out to hunt deer. Na-nod-di and I went back to the place we had crossed. Na-nod-di tied

²³ Of these three men who acted as guides, Tso'-'e, known better as Peaches, was still living at Cibecue in the fall of 1932. He died December, 1933.

his mule, and we started to hunt. We killed one black tail deer and wounded another. It lay down behind a big mescal, and so we didn't know where it was, but after a while I could hear something breathing hard; it was the wounded deer, which we killed by hitting it on the head with a rock. This was a female deer without any young, and it was fat. Nod-di had gone off and killed another deer. Pretty soon he came back with its skin across his shoulder. It was a big skin and touched the ground on both sides of him. I would like that skin, I thought. "Here," I said, "is the deer I have killed and fixed for you; there is the skin." "No," Nod-di said, "you keep it for yourself and I'll keep this skin for myself." It is the custom among our people if we kill a deer to always give it and its skin to the man we are hunting with. We took all the meat of the female deer, but only the hind quarters and skin of the other. When we got back to camp all the other scouts were already in. They had killed only white tail deer, and the two women were cooking it for them. The Chiricahuas do not eat white tail deer in summer, but they will eat black tail deer. As soon as the women saw our black tail deer, they cut off some of the meat and started cooking it. We told them to cook lots of meat, as we were now going to Sierra de Media and were afraid of running into the Chiricahuas or Mexican troops.²⁴

We didn't start out until after sundown. Then the women rode double on one mule and told us to ride double on the other, which we did. We also rode the pack mule double. We tried to get Nod-di to let Dja'-n-de-zi ride up behind him, but he would not. We set out along the foot of the hill where there was lots of brush, so as to keep out of the open country. We got talking about Nod-di and why he would not let anyone ride double with him. It looked as though he was doing this so if we met the Chiricahuas or Mexican troops he could make a run for it and get away. We decided that if he should do this we would kill him. We kept on traveling in the brush till it got dark, and then came out on the edge of the open country to cross over to Sierra de Media.

²⁴ They were in Mexico now and not far from the Mexican military post of Janos, Chihuahua.

Na-nod-di had some field glasses, and he looked first with these over the open country to make sure no one was there. Le-gudn-tel said, "If the Chiricahuas come to us, don't any of you run away, because if you do you will get killed. Go in the rocks right away and hide there and fight." Dja-n-de-zi was still on foot. We started across the flat. About in the middle of the flat we could see a band of antelope running along the same way we were going, and in this way we could tell that no one had been in front of us lately. After a while we came to a rocky place with lots of holes in it, and Na-nod-di said that the Chiricahuas had a fight here once with the troops. There was an old cartridge belt, all dried up, lying on the ground. A long way off there was some water and toward this we could see the antelope running, so knew things were still safe. There was a canyon ahead of us with a lot of oak trees in it. Na-nod-di said the Mexican troops always camped there and that they might be there now, but we found no one. That evening we got to water at the foot of a mountain with many white rocks on it, cliffs and canyons and peaks. We camped at this place near the foot of a cliff. The way we used to do when we were traveling was to make lots of fire before sundown so there would be plenty of coals. Then after sundown we would have no flames, only a big heap of coals.

That night we were all sitting around, talking about where the Chiricahuas might be. Pretty soon we could hear a noise like a bell on a horse in the direction from which we had come. "Do, do, do, do," it went, just as if the horse was walking around. They sent me and another man up on the hill to see if we could see any fire back that way. We had gone only a little way when we could hear the noise plainly. We went to it. It was only some water dripping in a cave, but it sounded just like a bell. When we got back to camp, all the others were saddled up and ready to leave. We told them what the noise came from, and we all laughed. It looked like rain that night, and the two women said they were going over under the bluff and sleep, as they didn't want to get wet. That night we talked and decided to send the two women to look for the Chiricahuas near Carretas the next day. "If you see them," we said, "tell them to go to .

the captain at Guadalupe Canyon as he wants to meet them and make peace."

The next morning we cooked up lots of food for the two women, took them part of the way, and then let them go on foot. We stood and watched them with the field glasses till they were out of sight. We stayed in this camp eight days, waiting for the women to return and keeping watch from the top of the mountain. On the eighth day we saddled all the mules and left them tied on the mountain. Then we went down to where we had left the Chiricahua women and waited. We looked with the glasses. A long way off we could see two people coming. They were on foot, so we knew they must be Apaches. We could see them plainly now. We told Na-nod-di to ride down toward them. He started, and we watched him with the glasses till he met the two people. There he got off and went on foot, letting them ride, he going in front. They got back to us about sundown, and it was the two Chiricahua women. They had looked all over, but found no sign of the Chiricahuas. We had been gone from Guadalupe Canyon fifteen days now. One of these women had the end of her nose cut on one side. She said, "I can travel fast like a man, but this other woman here, she is like a child and she can't travel well at all."

Our party had almost run out of grub now, so we started back to where the troops were. As we went over a big mesa, Le-gudn-tel said, "We don't want anyone to see us coming back over this open ground," so he made wind. He knew medicine for wind and prayed for it.²⁵ Right in the middle of the mesa a big wind came up, and there was so much wind we could hardly see each other. When we got into Guadalupe Canyon, we reported to the officers all that we had done. They said we had done well and also that they had received a letter saying that scouts from all over were gathering to meet by San Bernardino, at the mouth of Guadalupe Canyon. All our camp moved on near San Bernardino, where we stayed two days. All the troops and scouts were there.

²⁵ In the old days there was almost always some man among the members of a war party who was said to be able to bring on big winds so as to hide the movements of the party from the enemy.

There were about five hundred of us scouts,²⁶ some from Fort Huachuca and some from all the other forts. That troop of cavalry that rode all white horses was there too.²⁷ General Crook was there in command (1883). He had an officer with him who wore a funny kind of four cornered hat and spoke good Mexican language.²⁸ There were lots of mules there for packing. Some had their manes roached, others had long hair only between the ears, and others had their tails cut in different ways. This was so one could tell to which company the mules belonged. There was one bell mule, and all the others followed this one wherever it went. They used to unsaddle the mules in a line, and each mule always knew where its own pack was when it was time to saddle up again. If the wrong mule got to a pack, he would be kicked away by the owner. All our clothes were about worn out from our trip, but there were no new clothes for us. They brought in a lot of thick red cloth, though, and divided it among all the scouts to use as head bands. This way every one of us scouts had a red head band so that we could be told from the Chiricahuas.²⁹

Now a big meeting was held. They spread a canvas and under this General Crook and all the officers sat. Out in front all the first sergeants of the scout companies stood in line, and back of them the second sergeants. Then in back of these all the scout companies lined up. There were three or four sergeants from Fort Apache. Alchise³⁰ was one of these, and Tso-'e [Peaches] another. There were lots of sergeants from San Carlos. Now General Crook said, "What do you scouts think about us catching the Chirica-

²⁶ According to records there were some two hundred scouts which Crook had with him at that time, as well as a troop of cavalry and a pack train.

²⁷ This was the Sixth Cavalry under command of Captain Chaffee.

²⁸ This officer was Capt. John G. Bourke. He must have been wearing a cavalry uniform dress hat.

²⁹ In general appearance the Western Apaches resembled the Chiricahuas and their two allied tribes.

³⁰ Alchise was later the main chief of the Tca-tcidn people on the upper north fork of White River. He died in 1930.

huas³¹ down in Mexico, do you think we will find them?" The San Carlos sergeant named Tu-'is-ba said we could never catch the Chiricahuas because they could hide like coyotes and could smell danger a long way like wild animals. Crook said, "I think we are going to catch these Chiricahuas, and we are going to keep after them till we catch them all. We have orders from Washington, where the President lives, to catch these Chiricahuas. We are all wearing his [the President's] clothes and eating his grub, and so I want you to help him. In this way we can repay him. I am the man in charge of all this outfit, and now I am going to sign my name to this paper so that even if I get killed, the President will still know what we all did, and the record won't be lost. Thus, no matter if I die or live, the government will know that it must reward you." I think he was telling us the truth all right, because all of us scouts are now drawing pensions. We were scouts in order to help the whites against the Chiricahuas, because they had killed a lot of people. Now General Crook told us to put up a big war dance that night.³²

The next morning we started to travel south. Al Sieber was head of us scouts; what Sieber told us to do we did; when he said that here would be a good place to camp, we made camp. We traveled toward the Sierra Espuela and down along the east side of it till we came to where the canyon, in which the town of Bavispe lies, joins with the valley in which we were, that is, the junction of San Bernardino Wash and Bavispe River. Here we made camp. Then we went on to near Bavispe, where we saw some wild peach trees growing. We had never seen peaches before and thought that these were some kind of walnuts. There were lots of

³¹ In many places throughout John Rope's story the term Chiricahuas has been used to designate the hostile Apaches against whom he was scouting. However, in some of these instances the hostiles were not only composed of Chiricahuas, but also of people of the Warm Springs and Nip'n-da-hi tribes. Since the narrator did not bother to make the distinction, the term Chiricahua has been used. The reader must understand that this often included people of the other two allied tribes. This applies especially in the following pages.

³² For complete details of this famous 1883 campaign of Crook's, see Bourke's *An Apache Campaign*.

trails leading to Bavispe from here. While going along we saw some Mexicans with a burro. When we got in sight of Bavispe we stopped. Sieber ordered a hundred of us scouts to go ahead and the rest to follow. We went on, right through the streets. The houses were all made of adobe and some of them were falling down. In these adobe houses the Mexicans were living on both sides of the street. There were a lot of Mexicans looking at us, and a lot of old Mexican women were there. We went right on through and then across a little canyon where we all made camp. Sieber and some of the others butchered ten cattle without permission from the Mexicans. In a little while the mayor of the town, a Mexican, came riding out on a little pony. He rode his horse right up over the rocks to our camp, and the pony seemed to climb up in jumps. Then he ran it as fast as he could to the officer's camp. He talked some time with the officers, and I guess they had to pay him for those ten steers. All of us were here now except four scouts who had been left with some soldiers at a place just east of where Agua Prieta, Sonora, now is.

That night some of the scouts from our camp sneaked into the Mexican town to get liquor. They brought it back with them and got drunk. Mickey Free came over to me and said, "My grandson,³³ don't go over where they are drinking. There is liable to be some trouble." I didn't go. The next morning we moved on to the foot of a mountain just to the east of Huachinera and camped there in a canyon. While in this camp we could see Mexicans watching us from a distance. Next day we started from the Sierra Madre to the southwest. There was only one way to get to the top of this mountain and this was up a long narrow ridge. On the way one mule fell off over a bluff, pack and all. It was so far below that no one went down to get him. Finally we got to the top of the mountain, and here we saw three very poor cattle which I guess belonged to the Chiricahuas. The three men who escaped from the Chiricahuas and came back to

³³ It is often the custom when speaking to a close friend, whether giving or seeking advice, to use a term of relationship that will show respect and gain attention.

San Carlos were there with us, and they knew the country. We made our camp that night near some springs on the mountain. We stayed here four days, cooking up bread and lots of other grub. Then Sieber said that fifty scouts were to go ahead and that the pack mules and the rest would follow some distance behind. I was one of these fifty. At that time I had never fought with the Chiricahua and did not know how mean they were, so I was always in the front. We crossed over a canyon, going in single line. First there would be ten scouts, then a mule, then ten scouts, then a mule, and so on. We scouts in front heard someone whistle in the brush. We stopped and listened and heard the whistle again. We all thought it was the Chiricahuas and started to run back. One man tripped and fell in a water hole. Afterwards the whistle turned out to be only the wind blowing on an acorn with a hole in it, which was on a blue oak tree. Pretty soon we came to some old tracks. Here the Chiricahuas had left one horse. He was very poor, but we butchered him and took out his liver and meat that was good. The three men who were with us and knew the country said maybe the Chiricahuas were camped back by a rocky mountain we had passed.

In about three days two pack mules carrying grub were brought up to us from the others behind. A message was sent back and we went on ahead to another camp at a canyon near the head of Bavispe River. This was the place where Tso'-'e, Na-nod-di, and the other man got away from the Chiricahuas. There were lots of pine trees growing there, and we could see where the Chiricahuas had been having a dance. T'u-lane,³⁴ a Warm Springs man who had married a White Mountain woman from Fort Apache, was with us now as scout. He said the dance tracks here looked like they had been making a war dance. While we were on the edge of the mountain, one of the scouts who was off by himself came back and said he had seen something shining way across

³⁴ T'u-lane means "lots of water." T'u-lane is still living on the Mesquero Reservation in New Mexico (1932).

on the side of another mountain opposite us.³⁵ But the others would not believe him and said he had just seen the sun glinting on some raven flying over that way. The man said it was not a raven at all. The side of the mountain was thick with brush, and we traveled along its slope looking for tracks. Right on top we came to another Chiricahua camp. They had left three pieces of mescal in a tree here and also covered their fire with dirt. We could see their tracks plainly now, and they were about two days old. They had tried to hide the tracks again, but we followed. There were lots of pine trees here. Next morning we kept along the side of the mountain till afternoon. Then the sergeant said to cook some grub. While we did this the others looked ahead with the glasses. In a little while the scouts who had the glasses came back. They had seen the Chiricahua camp on top of a ridge across the valley, on the side of the other mountain. On a level place near the camp all the horses of the Chiricahuas were grazing. There were lots of them. We all hurried back, and there we could see the camp all right. There were quite a few Chiricahuas in it. Sieber sent two scouts back to tell the other soldiers and scouts who were way behind to hurry up and reach our camp that night. Some of the scouts were afraid. It was only about a mile across the valley from where we were to the Chiricahua camp. That night we could not sleep but sat and talked in whispers. Early in the morning the troops and other scouts got in. They told us all to eat and tie the horses up, as it would soon be daylight.

Now we looked at the Chiricahua camp again. There was lots of smoke coming up from it. We started out toward the camp. Part of the soldiers and scouts went on the left side and part on the right. In the middle went Alchise and his scouts. This way we were going to surround the Chiricahua camp before they found out we were here. One of the scouts on our side of the line saw two Chiricahua men riding toward the scouts. He told the others, and they waited to surround the two Chiricahuas. One sergeant had

³⁵ The scout who saw this flash was David Longstreet, a White Mountain Apache, who is still living at Bylas.

his gun all cocked ready to fire. The gun went off by accident, but even so the Chiricahuas did not seem to hear and kept right on coming. Then we scouts started shooting at them but missed. The two men jumped off their mules and ran off in the rocks and brush, but they did not go back to their camp. Now we scouts ran down into the canyon and drank there, dipping the water up with our hands. Some of the scouts started to say their knees hurt so that they could stay in the rear. Some of them were always doing this because they were afraid.

We had to pass over some rocks where there was lots of water. Right above here some of us could see three Chiricahuas herding some horses to a grassy place. They were coming our way so we waited. Right behind these three were riding a boy and a girl, each leading a horse behind them. We waited hiding in the brush till the boy and girl were opposite us; then T'u-lane called to them. "Shew," he said, "come here." He was a Warm Springs man, so of course he talked like them. The two stopped but did not come. T'u-lane called again. "Come here; hurry up," he said. They dropped the ropes of the lead horses and came over, but they could not yet see us. When they were close to us, we made for them. I grabbed the girl, and T'u-lane got the boy. The girl had lots of beads made from Yo-il-tcine,³⁶ the roots of a kind of brush that grows down there. She had four strings of them and we started to take those off her. Then T'u-lane said, "No, that girl belongs to a friend of mine, and I want to trade you this boy for her." I said, "All right," and he took the girl and I the boy. Now all the rest of us started to shoot at the three Chiricahua men who were driving the horses. The scouts had told the three to stand still, but they started to run off in the pine woods. Only one of them was shot. The boy I had captured saw the scouts with the red head bands. "What kind of people are these," he asked. "These are scouts," I told him, "and they are all after your people." Then he began to cry. The girl didn't cry at all, she just stood there quietly. I told the

³⁶ This plant is one which grows in swampy places. The roots have a very aromatic odor and so were greatly prized.

boy, "If you try to run away, I am going to shoot you, so you had better stay with me." The girl spoke to me: "My friend, don't shoot him," she said. I was wearing two belts of fifty cartridges each, but I did not shoot more than three times because I was satisfied with having helped to catch these two Chiricahuas. My brother was there, and I told him to go on to the Chiricahua camp, but he did not want to, so I told him to keep my boy for me, and I went toward the camp myself.

Near the place where the one Chiricahua had been killed, I saw someone's heels sticking out of a clump of bushes. I grabbed this person and pulled him out. It was one of the other two Chiricahuas who had been with the one who was killed. This one was only a boy, and there was no blood on him so I thought he was all right. Just then some of the other scouts came along and said they wanted me to give them the boy, but I said no, that I had found him and was going to keep him. I told the boy to run ahead of me to the camp. He was only a little boy, but he ran fast and we got there quickly. I found where the Chiricahuas had been butchering a horse.³⁷ One man had got to the camp before me and had captured a white mule with a saddle on it. I found an old, worn-out Navajo blanket for the boy and put him up with the scout on the white mule to ride double. This camp was Chihuahua's, and he and his brother had just come from the warpath with lots of cattle. The Chiricahuas had been butchering, and there was meat lying all around on the bushes to dry. I found a good, thick cow hide and doubled it over, putting a lot of dry meat and grease inside. This I also gave to the scout on the white mule, giving him half of it for himself. There was some mescal spread around to dry on the bushes and some just boiled.³⁸ We took this also. I found an old Mexican saddle, bridle, and a rope and put these all at the side of the camp together so that the

³⁷ Horse and mule meat was liked just as well as beef, if not better.

³⁸ The base, the butts of the leaves, and the stalk of the mescal plant when roasted or cooked in a steam pit formed one of the main plant foods of these people. There were different ways of preparing the food for storage.

others would know that they were mine. They yelled now for all the San Carlos scouts to surround the Chiricahua horses, which they did.

Two Chiricahua men got up on a high, rocky shoulder above us. They shot down at us a couple of times; then they yelled: "All right, you're doing this way with us now, but some time we will do the same way with you," and then they went off. One of the sergeants called to us to come up where he was and help him surround a bunch of mules. Seven of us went up to him, but there were no mules there. There were some pine trees here, and a woman had left her little girl at the foot of one. The girl was hiding behind the trunk now, and I went to her and reached around the tree and grabbed her. She was wearing a string of beads around her neck, from which hung a Mexican silver cross. I took this silver cross for myself. I started back and the first man I met was Be-'il-djige, one of the scouts. "Here," I said, "I'm giving this little girl to you. He laughed and took her, and then he gave her to Nac-da-dn, who was riding a horse and who was also a scout. Nac-da-dn took her and started riding down the hill with her, singing the victory dance song as he went. All the other scouts laughed when they heard him singing this song. This is the song of thanks that they used to sing long ago when a successful war party came back and gave the victory dance in which men and women danced together.³⁹

After we got back to the Chiricahua camp again, we burnt all the mescal that was left and also a lot of a kind of a big juniper berry that grows down in Mexico and which the Chiricahuas had gathered for food. One of the scouts caught five horses and drove them to the camp. There was one fat sorrel mare, and I took her for myself and saddled and bridled her with that which I had captured. One scout came to me and said one of the boys I had caught was the son of the daughter of Nachise, who was a good friend of his. For

³⁹ On the return of a successful war party, a victory dance was given. There were special songs that were sung at this dance in which the people thanked the returned warriors for the presents of spoil they had given them or were about to give them.

this reason he wanted to trade me eighty dollars and a horse and saddle for the boy but I would not do it. One scout called Tcu-ba' had also caught a girl, about sixteen years old, when she had come down to get water. This girl was taken back to Fort Apache and is still living on the north fork. She is now an old woman. Her name is Dja-na-'il-tci.

Only four of the Chiricahuas had been killed. One of these was an old woman; it was some San Carlos scouts who shot her. She had stood up when they came to her and asked them not to kill her but to take her captive instead. We White Mountain men talked to the San Carlos scouts who shot her and said, "Why did you kill that old woman? You ought not to have killed her." The San Carlos men said they had come after these Chiricahuas and they were going to kill them. We started out from the Chiricahua camp, General Crook riding in front. I shot my gun off some because I was feeling happy about what I had done in the fight. The others were shooting too just for fun. Some of the other scouts were joking me about firing only three shots in the fight. I said, "I have done better than you. I caught three Chiricahuas." Pretty soon my horse gave out, so I killed her and gave my saddle to the man who had given me the horse. I also gave him the boy to carry.

After we had gone a way, we stopped and made camp. I took out my dried meat and fat from the hide and divided it among the others. We cooked and ate it. Then the man who had wanted my boy came again to me. He was called Ha-tso-ye. "My cousin," he said, "give me that boy like I asked you. I want him and will buy him from you." But I told him no, that I did not want him to do that way. He kept right on asking me. Then Mickey Free came over and spoke to him. "Don't ask for that boy like that. We are on the warpath now, and don't know for sure if this boy belongs to the daughter of your friend or not." That night they put fifteen scouts out to guard on all four sides of our camp. General Crook said to make all our Chiricahua prisoners lie down together and sleep, and for us to watch and see that they didn't get away. That night the oldest Chiricahua girl we had caught said that almost all the Chiricahua men had gone out on a raid that very day. This girl was

called Dja-ne-'il-tci, and later she married Alchise's brother. The next morning General Crook said to bring all the captives to his place. There he asked the oldest girl which one of the captured horses was the best. She answered that a certain gray one was. General Crook sent for this horse, but a scout had already taken it for his own and would not give it up. General Crook sent again for it and said, "Bring that gray horse to me right now." The horse was brought, and, although the scout who had claimed it was there, he said nothing. They saddled this horse for the two oldest Chiricahua girls and gave them food, also tobacco for Chihuahua. Now General Crook said, "Go to Chihuahua and tell him that we have only come to take his people back to San Carlos and not to make war." They took the girls back to the Chiricahua camp we had attacked, and from there the two followed the Chiricahua tracks. The girls had been told to tell the Chiricahuas that the raiding of their camp yesterday was an accident, and that it had not meant war. Also that our camp would be at the right end of the mountain and that we wanted the Chiricahuas to come in to that place for a talk. T'u-lane had told the girl to tell his brother and sister to come in to our camp right away. Twelve scouts and T'u-lane took the girls back to the Chiricahua camp. Some of the Chiricahua had been to their camp again but had gone back up on top of the mountain.

Next day we saw T'u-lane's sister and a girl relative with her. The girl was all dressed up with lots of beads and a blanket over her head. She had a white flag in her hand. They came into camp and we gave them food. T'u-lane talked with his sister. He said, "We have been all over looking for you people, not to kill you, but to bring you back to San Carlos to be friends. Tell this to Chihuahua." That same day Geronimo's sister came into camp. She said we had taken one white horse with a Mexican saddle, on which was a pair of black saddle bags. A silver bit and bridle had also been on this horse. If we wanted Chihuahua for our friend, he said that we must give that horse and outfit to her to bring back to him. We gave it to her and she took it back up the mountain to where the Chiricahuas were. Next day we could see someone riding that white horse over some

rocky places at the foot of the mountain. It was Chihuahua, and he rode fast to our camp. On the end of his horse's tail was tied a strip of red cloth, and another strip of red cloth hung from under the bridle. In his belt he wore two pistols, and in his hand he carried a lance with a strip of red cloth tied around its end. He rode toward some of us scouts who were sitting under some oak trees. We all jumped up, not knowing what he intended to do. He asked where the head officer was, and we told him. Then he ran his horse right through us to General Crook's tent. He rode through soldiers and scouts alike, and they had to get out of his way. Mickey Free and Si-bi-ya-na, who were the interpreters, followed him to the general's place. Chihuahua got off his horse in front of the tent, and there he shook hands with General Crook. He said, "If you want me for a friend, why did you kill that old woman, my aunt. If I was trying to make friends with someone, I would not go and raid their camp and shoot their relatives. It seems to me that you are lying when you speak about being friends." Now they gave him some tobacco and some food to take back with him. Then he got on his horse and rode off fast, right through us, the way he had come.

T'u-lane's relatives came back later and said that Chihuahua felt bad about the way things had happened. He had said, "It's no good, all these scouts and soldiers here," and he told the women to get ready to move farther away, maybe south to the Aros River. The Chiricahua women didn't want to go away so far and hid from him. Anyway Chihuahua moved his camp off a little farther. Now almost all the Chiricahua women started coming into our camp. All the ones we had captured came in, but the mother of the little girl I had found did not come until about sundown. She was crying as she came and talking bad about us White Mountain scouts. She was a young woman. When she saw the baby she grabbed it and started crying again. They gave out lots of rations to the Chiricahua women now. Chihuahua had not showed up yet, and we scouts went over to see T'u-lane's sister to see what she had to say. She said she thought there was going to be more trouble because the other Chiricahua men were due back from their raid in three days, and when

they found out what had happened, they would want to fight us. She said we had better all look out. The next day we moved the whole camp a little farther down by the mountain in a small park there.

Chihuahua was not in yet, and we thought he would probably go to join the other Chiricahua men. There was only one day left till their war party was due back, and so now the Chiricahua women tore up some flour sacks and tied the white pieces of cloth on poles, which they set up all around our camp. This was to let the Chiricahuas know we didn't want to fight. The women said for us scouts to look out for ourselves. "When the men get back, they may start shooting," they said. We piled rocks and pine logs up to lie behind. That night the Chiricahua women called toward the brush up on the sides of the ridges where they thought their men now were and told them not to shoot. They called the names of Ka-e-din⁴⁰ and Geronimo, and told them why we had come here for the Chiricahuas. The Chiricahua men up on the ridges heard them all right. The women told us scouts not to get up till sunrise so that the Chiricahuas would not start to shoot. So we got all ready, put on our belts, and loaded our rifles. Then we lay down but we could not sleep, so we just lay there till sunrise. When it began to get light in the morning, the women started calling again and telling the Chiricahua chiefs that they did not want any fighting, but only that the Chiricahuas make friends with us.

After sunrise, when we had eaten, we heard some Chiricahuas calling to us from the mountain. We could see lots of men up there together. Geronimo's sister went to them. She came back and said that they wanted some of us scouts to go to them. Na-ba-dji-ta-ha, a White Mountain scout, went up to the Chiricahuas, but he didn't talk plainly so they told him to go back and get some other scouts. He returned and got Das-tine, who was related to Dji-li-kine and also a Cibecue scout, who was brother-in-law to Chato. Dji-li-kine

⁴⁰ This man whose name means "Cartridges all gone," was a leader among the Warm Springs people. He was given his name because it was said that in a fight he fought so hard that he soon used up all his arrows or cartridges and had none left.

called Das-tine aside when they got up there. This Dji-li-kine was Geronimo's father-in-law, and he was a chief because he was about the best fighter of any of them. He was a little man and not as tall as an old-fashioned long musket, but even so the Chiricahua chiefs were like nothing to him, and they usually did what he advised. The Cibecue scout, who was called Hac-ke-ha-gos-lid, talked with his brother-in-law, Chato. After the talk was over, the scouts came back to our camp. Then T'u-lane's brother gave a yell and ran into our camp. When he got there he threw his gun and belt on the ground. Then he said to T'u-lane, "My brother, you have been looking for me, and now I am with you again and as if I belonged to you." Then the two embraced each other. This was the first man to come in. Soon all the rest of the Chiricahua men came in, except the chiefs, who stayed apart. We were camped on a little knoll, and all around in the park below was lots of tall yellow grass. General Crook was off by himself hunting birds with a shotgun. When he was there, all the Chiricahua chiefs came to him. They grabbed his gun away and took the birds he had shot. They said he had been shooting toward them. Mickey Free and Si-bi-yana went over there. They all sat on the ground and talked. After about two hours the general came back with all the Chiricahua chiefs to camp.

Some time after the Chiricahuas had arrived, three Mexican women and a baby came into camp. They had been captured by the Chiricahuas on their raid. The officer who talked Spanish went to them. All of us scouts and soldiers gathered around to look at them. The officer asked them what their names were and where they came from. This he put down in a book. The women said they were traveling along with two Mexican men and some burros over on the other side of the mountains. The Chiricahuas had come to them, killed the two men, and taken the three women and the baby. They did not know at what place they had been captured. The Chiricahuas said that the reason they had captured these Mexican women was so that they might take them to Janos and trade them to the Mexican soldiers there for some Chiricahua women who had been captured in the Carretas fight and who were now held at Janos. The three

Mexican women were taken over to the cook fire and fed.⁴¹ They were wearing old sandals, and these they took off and threw away as the officers had given them tall army boots to wear.

Now we mixed with the Chiricahuas like friends. About noon the Chiricahuas went apart and started to make a victory dance. Sieber told all us scouts to stay away from the dance, and so only the Chiricahuas themselves were there. But all the same one scout went over to the dance that night and danced. A Chiricahua woman made him pay her twenty cartridges.⁴² Some White Mountain scouts reported on this man, and the officer made him go back and get the cartridges from that woman. The Chiricahuas had driven in the cattle they had captured. They gave three head to us White Mountain men. One they gave to Hac-ke-ha-os-lid, the Cibecue scout, and one they gave to a San Carlos scout. They butchered lots for themselves.

Next day we started back for San Carlos and made our first camp at the head of Bavispe River. They let the three Mexican women ride on pack mules. The Chiricahuas were camped apart from us, and Ka-e-din went back there to a council they were holding. The Chiricahua chiefs said that this night they were going to have a dance for all the scouts and let the Chiricahua girls dance with them. The Chiricahua men planned to kill the scouts. It didn't matter if they themselves got killed. They sent word for Dji-li-kine to come to the council. When he got there they told him what they planned to do and asked him to join in. Dji-li-kine said, "I won't join in this because the White Mountain people are like relatives of mine," and then he went back to his camp. After a while the council sent for him again. When he got there Geronimo said to him, "My father-in-law, tonight we mean to do as we told you. Whenever we have gone to war before, you have gone with us. But now you won't make up your mind to say yes or no." Dji-li-kine answered, "I told you already that I would not help you do

⁴¹ These three Mexican women were later returned to their relatives.

⁴² At a victory dance if a man danced with a girl he had to make her a good present of some kind.

this." He was mad and started to walk away. In a little bit he turned back and came to the council again. He said, "You chiefs don't mean anything to me. I have been with you many times and helped you kill lots of Mexicans and whites, and that's the way you got the clothes you are wearing now. I am the one who has killed these people for you, and you have just followed behind me. I don't want to hear you talking this way with me again." Then he walked off. That night they started to hold the dance anyway. But one of the scouts, Dja-n-de-zi⁴³ (Long Ears) had died that day, and Sieber sent word for them to stop the dance on account of this, so they did.

The next morning some of the Chiricahuas asked for permission to gather a lot of horses from the Mexicans before they left Mexico. General Crook gave them permission and told them to meet us at the mouth of Guadalupe Canyon, near San Bernardino. Lots of the Chiricahuas and their chiefs went, but General Crook didn't try to stop them. They did not like the little San Carlos ponies and wanted to get some good horses before going back. Dji-li-kine went with them also. We made our next camp in a canyon. Some of the Chiricahuas had not come in yet. These were Tu-n-tc-ile-sa-'an (Red Water Resting) and his family, a man called Be-lin-te, a White Mountain boy called Bel-da-dol-de-he, and his mother. The White Mountain boy and his mother had been captured by the Chiricahuas on Eagle Creek some time ago. One of the scouts, called Dji'-ne'-ngej was related to this White Mountain captive woman and her boy, and so he was sent out to bring in Tu-n-tc-ile-sa-'an and the others. He brought them in and they were issued rations.

Whenever I was cooking in camp, that little Chiricahua girl I had captured would come over and eat with me. Her mother would tell her, "There is your friend, go over and eat with him." The son of a Chiricahua who was one of my father's friends was there with us. He knew who I was and came to me. He told me that his mother had been killed

⁴³ This was the same man who had gone on the scouting party down into Mexico with the two Chiricahua women before the start of the main expedition.

some time ago, and that he was now just living with his old aunt. He had no way to get food, he said. I went out and killed a deer and brought it to his camp for him and his aunt, and he thanked me.

Now we moved our camp to some springs just north of Carretas that Tu-n-tc-ile-sa-'an knew of. This was quite a way from Janos, but it was near the place where the Mexicans had killed so many of the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people.⁴⁴ Some of us scouts went over to see the battleground. There were many bleached-out bones, pieces of women's dresses, and lots of beads scattered on the ground. Numbers of Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people had been killed there. We shouldn't have gone to look at this place, but we did it anyway.⁴⁵

Our next camp was to the north, near Sierra Espuela. We had already moved on past Bavispe. Near Bavispe we saw a sorrel mare with a bell on her. We took this and kept up along the side of the Sierra Espuela, finally stopping to camp in a canyon where there were lots of pine trees. About sundown we saw clouds of dust in the distance. We thought this might be Mexican soldiers coming to fight us, and we cleaned our guns and got ready for them. After a while we could see through glasses that it was the Chiricahua men coming back, driving a big bunch of horses and mules they had taken from the Mexicans. Next morning we started up along the edge of the Sierra Espuela and made camp at some springs. Then we moved on to near San Bernardino. Here some of us hunted deer. I killed one deer, and right then a Chiricahua rode up to me. He said they had heard us shooting deer and followed us as they had no cartridges. I gave him the deer. "Come on, and we will ride back to camp double," he said. But I said no, that I was going to hunt some more. When I got back, that Chiricahua gave me a hind quarter of the deer.

We left this place for the springs east of where Agua Prieta

⁴⁴ The time the Mexican troops ambushed them in 1882.

⁴⁵ Western Apache people never go near graves or places where others have been killed, as some sickness or evil might befall any who do such a thing.

now is. A lot of the Chiricahua girls were on foot, so Mickey took one up in front of him, and I took another up in front of me also. When we got to the Springs there were some soldiers camped there. They had seen us coming and had the grub all cooked for us. Do-'ac-tin, one of the White Mountain sergeants, had been stationed there with his company of scouts, but he was the only one left. One after another they had gone off and not told him where they were going. We all laid our guns and belts aside and lined up to get our food; soldiers, scouts, and Chiricahuas alike. As soon as one bunch got through eating another bunch would eat. It took almost all the rest of the day, and even then some didn't get any food.

Next day we camped near a white man's ranch, where there were a lot of oaks. Here two buggies drove up, each drawn by four mules. These were for General Crook. He and some of the officers and three Mexican women got in and were driven to Tucson. Before he left he said to us that all was done now and for us to go on to San Carlos and keep watch on the Chiricahuas. "You said you thought you would never catch the Chiricahuas, but now you see we have got them all," he said.

Our next camp was near Willcox. Beyond Willcox a citizen met us with a big wagonload of clothes to sell to us—shirts, pants, shoes, and hats. We bought some clothes from him and swiped some more because all our clothes were in rags. The Chiricahuas still had some of their cattle, and every time we camped, they butchered. Dji-li-kine was with them no longer. The Chiricahuas said that while he was getting the horses with them down in Mexico a Mexican had shot him in the head from a distance of about three hundred yards. We White Mountain men did not believe this because Dji-li-kine had been on the warpath too many times to get killed this way. We think that the Chiricahuas shot him because he would not join them that time they had planned to kill us at the dance.

From here we moved by the Winchester Mountains, then Hooker's Ranch, then west of Stanley Butte. Here the Chiricahuas killed their last three cattle. The next day we started for San Carlos.

All the people at San Carlos knew that we were coming that day and were waiting for us. Right on top of Copper Reef we stopped to line up. From here we could see lots of looking glasses flashing signals to us from San Carlos. At every camp all of us scouts and the Chiricahuas were counted. Now they put one hundred of us scouts in front, then all the Chiricahuas, then the rest of the scouts, then the soldiers, and last of all the pack train. This way we marched to the edge of the Gila River, took off our moccasins, and went across. Sieber rode in front. There was a crowd of Indians on both sides, watching us. Sieber led us straight to the old school building and there stopped. All the scouts went to the right and camped. All the Chiricahuas went to the left, and the pack mules were brought in to the center. We cooked in eight lots. All our relations came to see us. Next day Alchise and his scouts went on back to Fort Apache where the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people settled. The day after that all of us scouts were discharged and got our pay. An officer said that they wanted forty scouts to enlist again, but lots of the men had had enough scouting.

Later the officer said that they were going to move the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people living at Fort Apache out to Holbrook and off east some place. He told me not to tell the other Indians as they did not want the news spread around yet. Next day the scouts set out for Fort Apache, taking Tu-n-cti-le-sa-'an with them. When they got there, the troops surrounded all the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people, loaded them into army wagons and took them out to Holbrook where they were put on a train. A lot of Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people rode their ponies out to Holbrook and had to leave them there. Curley's wife was a Chiricahua,⁴⁶ but she was not taken out this time with the others. After the Chiricahuas and Warm Springs people were sent away, the scouts came back to San Carlos.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Sherman Curley, an old-timer of the San Carlos people who died in January, 1934, was married to a Chiricahua woman. Mrs. Curley is still living.

⁴⁷ In 1886 there were about seventy-five men and 325 women and children, all of them Warm Springs people and Chiricahuas who had re-

Sieber, who knew me well and whom I liked a lot, asked me three times to rejoin the scouts, but I would not do it. Those long scouts we used to make at first, down to the south-east and around Fort Bowie were good, and we could save some money. But this being stationed at San Carlos all the time was no good, as there was always somebody killing someone else, and we having to go out after them. Then, too, we could never save our pay because we had our families to care for. I am still caring for my family as my sons have no work.

Since that last scout, I have lived at Dewey Flat, then I moved to Calva and then to Navajo Point, and finally to Bylas where I am still living. You see me here still alive and well. That is because I have been good and minded my own business. Lots of the other scouts did not, and they are dead.

mained peacefully at Fort Apache during the last year. Gen. Miles who had taken over the command from Gen. Crook, had these people arrested and sent to Florida as prisoners of war.



ANSON H. SMITH, ARIZONA EDITOR

BY WILLIAM BORK

Fifty-two years and a half of editing and publishing a newspaper in Mohave County gave to Anson H. Smith the record of having served longer on one paper than any other editor in the United States. He was still adding years to that record when an unfortunate fall on a slippery sidewalk brought on his final illness. He died June 19, 1935, at his home in Kingman.

During his fifty-six years in Arizona, most of it spent in Mohave County, he saw the ebb and flow of life and industry in the chief mining area of northwestern Arizona. He journeyed up the Colorado River in the days of its unchained and temperamental flow when skillful steamboat captains could navigate almost to Boulder Cañon. He passed away at a time when the harnessing of the river was virtually complete, and its waters so curbed that no steamboat will ever again stem its stream.

Born on March 28, 1860, in the small village of Hornellsville, now known as Hornell, Steuben County, New York, Anson Hubert Smith started west at an early age. His parents, James Y. and Elizabeth Tolan Smith, moved a few miles in the direction of the Pacific to the town of Salamanca in Cattaraugus County before their son began his schooling.

At Salamanca young Anson acquired a common school education. Then, since the elder Smith had for many years been a locomotive engineer on the Erie Railroad, it is not to be marvelled at that his son was apprenticed to the machinist's trade in the Brooks Locomotive Works in Dunkirk, New York. A strike, brought on by the great panic of 1873, sent him back home to Salamanca, and at the age of sixteen he entered the newspaper world as a printer's devil.

There was at Salamanca a small country newspaper, the *Cattaraugus Republican*. There young Smith acquired enough knowledge of the trade to enable him to get a job as pressman on the *Daily Era* at Bradford, Pennsylvania. From the

mechanical end of the newspaper business he then turned to writing and became oil reporter on the *Era*. Late in 1878 he felt the desire to visit the city, so went first to Buffalo where he worked on the *Courier* and the *Express*, and then on to New York. There, like so many other young printer-reporters he was for a while employed on the *Times*.

But city life did not hold the attractions he had hoped, and the opportunity came to go west. Late in 1879 Mr. Smith arrived in Mohave County, Arizona, and went to Mineral Park, then the county seat. He was acting as representative of the Cerbat Mining Company which owned several of the famous old claims in the area, among them being the Champion, a gold, silver, and lead claim whose ore produced seventy dollars per ton; the Empire, a galena-silver property whose ore produced \$210 to \$250 per ton; and the Twins and Vanderbilt claims, gold and silver properties with ores producing from twenty dollars to one thousand dollars per ton.

To reach Mineral Park in those days one had to go to San Francisco, thence southward to Los Angeles, across to Yuma, and then up the Colorado River to Hardyville, head of navigation about ten miles above Fort Mohave. From there a wagon road ran through Union Pass to Mineral Park. Another route was possible by rail to Santa Fé, New Mexico, and then by stage to Mesilla, New Mexico, where the Southern Pacific stages would take one to Phoenix and Prescott. Then the trip could be made northward to Mohave County. This was seldom done, however, and virtually everyone took the route via San Francisco.

Anson Smith was no exception and made the trip by the former route. Arriving at Yuma, however, he did not proceed at once to Mohave County. Instead he took a steamer down the river into the Gulf of California with a party of mining men who prospected in Sonora, Sinaloa, and other parts of Mexico. Upon his return to Yuma he still did not proceed to Mohave County, but crossed the state to the roaring mining camp of Tombstone where he worked on the early issues of the *Republican*. He was also for a time, before the advent of J. W. Dorrington, connected with the old Yuma *Sentinel*. George W. Tyng, the former editor, "had been

called to New York as a missionary among the heathen of the great metropolis," and Smith was substituting for him.

From Yuma Anson Smith finally went with Captain Godfrey of the Colorado Navigation Company up the river to Hardyville. There he met Wooster M. Hardy, forwarding agent of the back country and postmaster at Hardyville. For a time he remained at Mineral Park and thereabouts.

Living in Mohave County at that time was no fun. Supplies cost prodigious amounts, and everything had to be brought from San Francisco via Yuma or La Paz (about thirty miles south of present-day Parker) and thence up the river by steamer. In the early days at El Dorado Cañon where Anson Smith and John Hughes, who later became his father-in-law, were mining, supplies could be obtained only from across the river in Nevada. No regular ferry service was in operation and in order to get their necessities they would make the trip of several miles to the river with horses and pack animals, hoist a flag, and wait until the storekeeper could find someone to take a boat across to get their order. Sometimes a white man could be found, but frequently the erratic Mohaves had to be depended upon. It would take all day to get the quantity of food one would nowadays purchase from the neighborhood grocery in fifteen minutes, and "for years a pound of flour, bacon, sugar or coffee was worth from 75 cents to one dollar; and powder, steel and all mining material in like proportion," says Patrick Hamilton in his *Resources of Arizona*.

There was no reduction works near by and concentrates had to be shipped to San Francisco at a freight rate so high that "scarcely any profit was left to the miner on ore that would not go over \$500 per ton," says the same authority. Little wonder then that Anson Smith did not remain long in the mining game but sought employment in his old field, the newspaper. In 1880 he went to work for Charles W. Beach who was publishing the *Arizona Miner*, oldest paper in the territory, established in 1864.

He was not entirely tired of mining, however, and mined at Globe for a time. He also served as a mill hand at the Vulture Mine near Wickenburg before he returned to Kingman, where in October, 1882, he and James J. Hyde, a drug-

gist at Mineral Park, prepared to start a newspaper. On November 5, 1882, the first issue of the *Mohave County Miner* appeared.

The front page of this paper was largely taken up with advertising. Three of the seven columns were utilized by the owners of the paper for this purpose, one of them bearing a slogan printed perpendicularly to the masthead: "Advertise in the MOHAVE COUNTY MINER and be Happy!" The other two call attention to the fact that Hyde & Watkins of the Mineral Park Drugstore are "DRUGGISTS & APOTHECARIES and dealers in all kinds of CHEMICALS, ASSAYERS' MATERIALS, Patent Medicines, Toilet Articles, ETC., ETC., ETC. We have also on hand a fine stock of fresh Groceries, Candies, Nuts, Tobacco, Cigars, &c. Give us a call and we will satisfy you." Theirs was a modern drugstore, with a full variety of everything, even though it has been the custom to proclaim such a wide variety only a recent tendency!

The extreme left hand column proclaims that the "MOHAVE COUNTY MINER" is "published every Sunday by Anson H. Smith & Co. James J. Hyde, Editor." Subscription and advertising rates follow and below them the column is filled with professional cards and a saloon advertisement. The second column is headed by a poem entitled "The Children" by Charles M. Dickinson. The remainder of the column contains "A Montana Man's Story," being an account of how a tourist fell through the crater of a geyser in Yellowstone Park and how he escaped therefrom. "Why We Shed Tears," a reprint from Bill Nye's *Boomerang*; some reprints from the *New York Sun* and a St. Louis paper; and but one local item concerning the increase in freight since the Atlantic and Pacific reached Albuquerque make up the three columns of news on the front page. The three columns to the right contain the drugstore and newspaper advertisement described above.

Thus the *Mohave County Miner* made its first appearance. It has continued to appear regularly ever since, and it was Anson Smith's boast that he never missed a number. Paper was kept on hand for several months' issues, but once they ran out before a delayed order arrived and the editor made

a trip to Prescott on horseback to obtain enough paper to get the edition out on time.

The press for the *Miner* had quite a history, as did many early-day presses which passed from paper to paper and town to town until fortune smiled long enough for them to remain set up in one place and serve until old age wore them out. Anson Smith tells the story in the Golden Anniversary Edition of the paper, November 11, 1932.

A newspaper had been established at Yuma, known as the Yuma County Democrat, but had been in existence only a few months when it went to the journalistic boneyard. The remains were shipped by team to Phoenix, and a gentleman named Crenshaw published the Maricopa County Democrat from this plant. It was not patronized to any extent and the paper died during its infancy.

Anson H. Smith, who was then living at Mineral Park, proposed to James J. Hyde that they purchase the newspaper outfit and establish a newspaper at Mineral Park. Smith went to Prescott, where he consulted Charles W. Beach, at that time editor of the Arizona Miner, and arrangements were made with him for a press and obtaining the outfit at Phoenix.

The type and other fixtures were shipped by team to Prescott. When it arrived at that place the press was loaded onto the wagons, and the outfit started on its way to old Mohave. The press was one of the first cylinder models ever made, and was known as the Chicago stop-cylinder. It had a peculiarity all its own. The cylinder latched at a certain point, and then the bed reversed and went back, unlocking the latch. The bed and cylinder moved in unison, until the paper was delivered at the rear of the press, then the bed revolved back to be inked and made ready for another sheet. It was a most peculiar press, but it did work.

There was another paper in Mineral Park at the time of the establishment of the *Miner*. It was the *Alta Arizona* (Upper Arizona). The editors waged the usual duels and the *Miner* achieved the more popular favor with the result that its competitor, edited by William Hodges, a young man from Yuma, had to fold up. The *Miner* took over the plant which consisted of an old Washington hand press and a small quantity of type.

The press of the *Alta*, as it was called, was sold to Art Fay, a well-known printer of the day, who took it first to Peach Springs and then to Flagstaff where he started the *Arizona Champion* in 1887. The *Champion* was the first newspaper in Flagstaff and the ancestor of the present-day *Coconino Sun*.

In the early days one of the chief problems facing the *Miner* was to preserve the rollers which inked the type and made it possible for the press to print. They are ordinarily made from molasses, glycerine, and glue, and must be kept soft enough to do their job thoroughly, yet not so soft that they lose shape or melt. They harden with age and must be renewed. Their preparation is enough of a specialty so that present-day printers and newspaper offices usually send their rollers to a specialist in the field. But in the eighties freight was high, and the service was so uncertain that the *Miner* cast its own rollers. At times it was difficult to obtain the proper materials for the job, "but," says Smith, "the rollers were always in good shape and a plan was worked out for handling that end of the newspaper game with little difficulty."

When the *Miner* began publication the first editorial proclaimed its politics as follows: "Politically this paper will be devoted to the interests of the Republican Party, but we fully realize that politics do not interest a small community like ours, except about election time, and we can safely say that a very small portion of our columns will be devoted to political discussion. Our columns will always be open to receive communications relating to the welfare of this county in any way, and we shall always publish such with pleasure."

Thus in the early days of its existence the *Miner* devoted itself to mining and not to politics. Anson Smith was a Democrat, but his county was definitely Republican until the election of 1894. At that time the mining industry, particularly the silver miners, became interested in politics and many of the Republicans joined the western Democrats.

At the time of the establishment of the *Miner* the Santa Fé Railroad had not yet reached Mohave County. Mineral Park was still the metropolis of the area. Located on an elevated bench on the western slope of the Cerbat range, it stood "in an amphitheatre of rugged mountains, with the rocky cone of Sherum's Peak towering over all," says Patrick Hamilton. His description follows.

It is 30 miles east of the Colorado and 130 miles northwest of Prescott. The houses are mostly adobe. There are five stores, a hotel, restaurants,

saloons, blacksmith shops, etc. There is a commodious public school-house, which is well attended. The town is the supply-point for numerous mining-camps and cattle ranges. Its present population is about 500, which is being rapidly increased since the building of the railroad. The place has grown and improved very much within the past year. Many handsome private residences and several business houses have been erected. The town has a healthful situation, and as the mining region which surrounds it is developed, its population will grow and its trade increase. It is one of the oldest settlements in northern Arizona, and its people are deserving of all praise for the steadfast faith they have ever shown in its future. The *Mohave Miner* is published here once a week, by James J. Hyde. It is an industrious and intelligent exponent of the great natural resources of Mohave county.

The coming of the railroad, however, did not help Mineral Park. Kingman, a dangerous rival, sprang up some sixteen miles to the south beside the rails themselves, and in 1887 the county seat was moved there. In the meantime (1885) Anson Smith had made a deal with James Hyde, his partner, and Ed. Williams for the sale of his interest in the *Miner*. The sale was never consummated, although he for a time went to Kingman and operated the *Wallapai Tribune* as an independent venture. In 1887 the *Miner* and the *Tribune* were combined, and C. M. Funston, later of the *Coconino Sun*, published them under the name of the *Mohave County Miner* at Kingman. In 1891 Anson Smith, and a new partner, William G. Carleton, took complete control of the *Miner*.

Carleton, now a resident of the Arizona Pioneers Home at Prescott, was associated with Smith for two years, from January 1, 1891, until the end of 1893. He characterizes the country editors of the day as all-round newspapermen who wrote and edited the news, set it up into type by hand, ran the press, and wrapped and mailed the finished paper. In a mining community like Mohave County they were prone to grubstake hopeful prospectors, were industrious, but sometimes lacked in application, and would switch from one endeavor to another somewhat frequently, as has been seen in the case of Anson Smith.

Of his partner Carleton says that he never lacked in personal courage, and although he was not a large man, he was strong and would tackle the devil. He was never afraid of

anything. On one occasion a "fellow came in to horsewhip the editor." He ran into Carleton, who was "getting bawled out." Then, says Carleton, "Anson came into the front office, pushed me aside, and had him licked quicker'n a dog could bite a flea."

There wasn't much to do for amusement in the mining camps of those days. Sometimes dances were attended, and frequently "dancing pumps were made from hob-nailed shoes," as Carleton puts it. A wedding was a great event. Serenading was ever popular, but on such occasions some of the local "whiskey tenors," a musician or two, and a few of the boys would "go into shifts on 'em. Usually there were a few drinks, and everyone had a good time," Carleton adds.

Card playing was another pastime. Anson Smith liked to join in a game of poker now and then, but a certain Judge Russell, one of the old-time gentleman gamblers who kept a saloon in Kingman for many years, would frequently take part in the game and give the amateurs some dearly-bought experience. On at least one occasion, however, the "green horns" contrived to get the better of him.

Smith got into a game with Russell while two of his friends, Harl Thompson and Jim Michael, looked on. By and by Michael yawned, stretched and said that he would have to go home to bed. Thompson remained. By and by Russell, who was never the one to beat his victims all at once, let Smith win a goodly share of the stakes. At a sign from Thompson, Michael re-entered excitedly and said, "Anson, there is an Indian out here says your wife is screaming something awful and you'd better go quick." Anson did. Next day the judge was obliged to treat frequently but enjoyed the joke as well as the rest.

Exactly one year from the day the first copy of the *Miner* appeared Anson Smith was married to Miss Nellie Hughes, daughter of John Hughes, with whom he was early associated in mining. They had ten children, four sons and six daughters, all of whom are living. There are also nineteen grandchildren. Mr. and Mrs. Smith lived to celebrate their golden wedding anniversary the year after the *Miner's* fiftieth anniversary edition.

As early as 1890 Anson Smith became interested in the Colorado River as a power and irrigation project. For years his paper advocated the building of a dam in Boulder Cañon. When he presented his ideas to the late Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Wilson, Lane wrote in reply that it was a "wonderful dream of a wonderful undertaking," but added that it was "just 50 years ahead of time."

Mr. Smith later described as one of the biggest moments in his life the occasion on which, in June, 1933, with the dam about one-third completed, he stood in the dry bed of the Colorado, its water flowing through diversion tunnels on either side. Secretary Herbert Hoover while presiding at the conference on the Santa Fé compact in 1922 called Anson Smith "Father of the Boulder Dam." He never saw the completed structure.

It was the Colorado River question more than any other cause that led Anson Smith into active politics and brought about his election to the Arizona House of Representatives in the ninth and tenth legislatures. In the tenth legislature his eldest son, J. Hubert Smith, was serving as a state senator. He still holds this position.

For many years the editor served as United States Commissioner, and at the time of his death he had for two years been chairman of the Mohave County Board of Public Welfare. He was active in good roads agitation and at the time of his death was endeavoring to secure prompt completion of the road from Kingman to Boulder Dam. Almost unaided he waged a campaign for the acceptance of a bond issue to build the Mohave County General Hospital. He also supported highway bond issues.

A complete file of the *Mohave County Miner* presents a fascinating picture of the dreams of prospectors, promoters, wealth seekers, engineers, and others who sought riches in the rugged mountains. More than any other area in Arizona, it may perhaps be said that Mohave County typifies the ghost town mining camps of the west as a whole. Fabulously rich silver deposits have been found and worked out. The changing methods of transportation have left one-time important towns entirely uninhabited. Hardyville at one time

was county seat and had a population in the thousands. Cerbat, also a county seat for a time, gave promise of growth. Mineral Park flourished. Today one visits the last named town, finds the streets overgrown with weeds, the houses falling down. The old county jail, built of stone, no longer has a roof; its two cells were moved to Kingman for use in the new county seat. Jails at Hardyville and Cerbat were deserted mining tunnels with strong doors attached. Of these towns almost nothing remains.

The gold mines at Katherine, Cerbat, Greenwood, McCracken, Oatman, Goldroad, Stockton, Signal, and elsewhere, and the silver properties near Chloride, Stockton Hill, Cerbat and other towns yielded over fifty million dollars worth of precious metals since their first operation in the sixties. During the present rise in the price of gold and silver they have felt new life. It was the dream of Anson Smith that cheap power from the Colorado River should run mills and pump water to make possible the steady development of these mines and the stabilization, insofar as possible, of the mining industry in northwestern Arizona.

To read the *Miner* from its earliest day to the present gives an idea of Anson Smith's vision, of the hardships, of the dreams he experienced. Kingman has grown from a stopping place on the railroad where water was sold for five cents a gallon (and few gallons were available) to a modern town on a modern transcontinental highway. Fifty-two years as a newspaper editor meant seeing those changes day by day. It meant giving to posterity a record of one corner of the Far West as seen through the eyes of one man.

Anson Smith's life was the ordinary one of a typical country editor. He strove to build as he saw best. He felt the pulse of the community and of the state and reacted accordingly. His life's work is more than a chapter in the history of the state; it reflects the growing pains of the American nation and its coming of age. It ends on the threshold of a new era and no man can say what it holds in store, for the mystery of the future is as great as the mystery of the beyond into which Anson Hubert Smith slipped away last June.

THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF ARIZONA

JOHN PHILO HOYT

BY EUGENE E. WILLIAMS

The Western Reserve in northeastern Ohio furnished the fourth governor of Arizona in the person of John Philo Hoyt, who was born on a farm three miles south of Austinburg, Ohio, October 6, 1841. His parents, David and Susanah (Fancher) Hoyt, gave him the Biblical name of John. A member of his family states that John was not in love with farm work, but if set to a task he could be depended upon to finish it however much he might detest it. In his boyhood days he was a fat, chubby, rosy-cheeked lad whom his playmates called "Pork." When he went away to school he gave his name as John P. Hoyt. Later when asked what the "P" stood for he replied, "Philo," and Philo it always remained.

As a boy and young man he worked on his father's farm and attended school at the Grand River Institute at Austinburg.

In 1862 young Hoyt enlisted in the Union army serving through the Civil War in the 85th and 87th Ohio Infantry, and the 2nd Ohio Artillery. During part of this time he was acting-quartermaster general. He was discharged from the army in the spring of 1866.

While in the army he employed every opportunity to study law. These studies enabled him to graduate from the Ohio State and Union Law College at Cleveland, Ohio, in July, 1867.

After graduation he was admitted to the bar and immediately went to Vassar, Tuscola County, Michigan, where he practiced nine years. During this period he served two terms as prosecuting attorney. In 1873 and again in 1875 he served as representative in the Michigan legislature, the last term as Speaker of the House.

W. A. Hoyt, a nephew, says that his uncle was a classmate of the son of Wm. M. Evarts, Secretary of State in Hayes's

cabinet, and that during the middle seventies Evarts used his influence to have Hoyt appointed to a diplomatic position at Vienna, but Hoyt refused.

Hoyt became interested in Arizona and on May 21, 1876, President Grant appointed him Secretary of the Territory. While serving in this capacity he codified the laws and prepared them for publication, receiving a fee of \$1,000.

When Safford's term expired the logical person to succeed him was the man who had so ably served the territory as Secretary and who had codified the laws. Recognizing his qualifications for the position, President Hayes appointed Hoyt governor, and he took the oath of office April 5, 1877.

The period of Hoyt as secretary and as governor of Arizona was a time of discovery, exploration, and development of the territory, although the problem of repelling attacks of the Indians was still unsolved. Events were constantly taking place that were of vital interest to the territory. Some of them are the following:

Tombstone: It was not many months after Hoyt became governor that a typical prospector, Ed Schieffelin, started on a prospecting trip. To go from any place that was not protected by force of numbers, or by a military force, was to invite death, or at least great hardships. The entire country was without settlers, water was scarce, and savage Indians lurked behind many a stone. It required a brave-hearted and hardy man to venture any distance from his fellow men alone. Such a man was Schieffelin.

As the prospector was about to start, someone in a jocular manner asked him where he was going. He responded that he was going in search of stones.

"Well, the only stone you'll find is your tombstone," was the encouraging rejoinder.

The warning was unheeded by the doughty prospector, for he persisted in his search until he discovered the mines which made him famous. He named his mine "Tombstone" and recorded his claim at Tucson, September 3, 1877.

Bisbee: About the time that Tombstone was discovered and developed another mining district was opened at Bisbee. Though devoid of the romance of discovery, and the notorious history of its neighboring town, the Bisbee district be-

came one of the greatest mining camps in the Southwest, and the largest producer of copper in Arizona.

Newspapers: It was during Hoyt's term that two of Arizona's leading newspapers, the *Salt River Valley Herald* and the *Arizona Silver Belt*, were established, although the *Arizona Miner* and the *Arizona Citizen* had long served the people as distributors of the news. All four of these papers or their successors are still important journals in the state.

The *Salt River Valley Herald* was the first newspaper in Phoenix. It was issued weekly and edited by Charles E. McClintock. The owners were Mr. McClintock, J. J. Gosper, Secretary of the Territory, and Charles W. Beach. This adventure presented its first issue in January, 1878. The following year its name was changed to the *Phoenix Herald*, and it became a semiweekly and later in the year a daily. It was afterward absorbed by the *Arizona Republican*, now the *Arizona Republic*.

The *Arizona Silver Belt* was the first newspaper in Globe and came from the press May 2, 1878. It was founded by Judge Aaron H. Hackney, who was its editor for twenty-one years.

Though Governor Hoyt may not have had a hand in these enterprises they reflected the prosperity of Arizona during his term of office.

On June 12, 1878, Hoyt was succeeded as governor by General John C. Fremont. It is said that the Secretary of the Interior requested Hoyt to resign in order that Fremont might be appointed to the position.

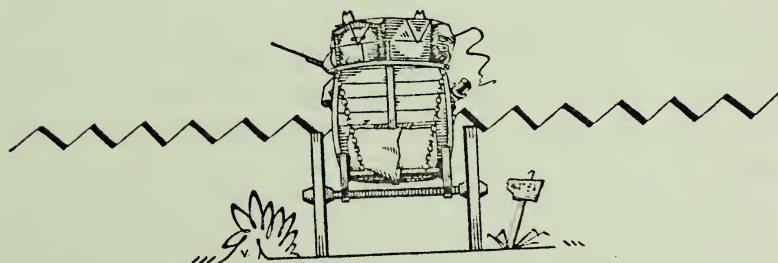
Shortly after leaving the governorship of Arizona Hoyt was tendered the governorship of Idaho. After investigation he was convinced that Governor Mason Breyman, whom he was to succeed, had been unfairly removed, and refused to accept the appointment. Not long afterward he went to Washington, D. C., and prevailed upon President Hayes to reinstate Breyman.

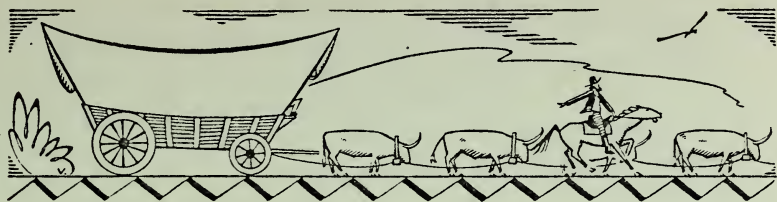
Leaving Arizona in 1879, Hoyt went to Washington Territory where he served as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court from 1879 to 1887. The latter year he was placed in charge of the Dexter Horton & Co. Bank at Seattle and was with the institution for some time. It was during this period

that he and Arthur A. Denney developed the Fremont tract which became a thriving addition to Seattle. In 1889 he was elected a delegate from King County to the Constitutional Convention of Washington, serving as president of the convention. From 1889-97 he again sat on the bench of the Supreme Court of Washington as Associate Justice. In 1898 Judge C. H. Hanford appointed him Referee in Bankruptcy where he served until 1914. During this period he was regent of the University of Washington (1898-1902), and then Professor of Law in the same institution (1902-7). He also served as President of the Washington State Pioneer Association.

After withdrawing from business Judge Hoyt lived a quiet retired life in his east Seattle home where he died August 27, 1926.

His wife was Miss Lettie J. Lewis whom he married in 1869. They had three children: June, Harold F., and Arthur L.





As Told by the Pioneers

BERNARDO CAVIGLIA

(Reminiscences as told to Mrs. Geo. Kitt, Jan 12, 1928)

I was born in Genoa, Italy, September 8, 1857. Came to this country about 1876 with three or four other Italians. We thought we would all make our fortunes in two or three years and return to Italy with a sack of gold pieces.

We struck right out for Eureka, Nevada, where we chopped wood and burned charcoal for six or seven years. That was not making a fortune very fast so when we heard of the big strike in Leadville, Colorado, we started for that place.

After staying there a very short time two of us came to Tombstone, Arizona. Of course we had to travel through a very bad Indian country where we heard of three men having been recently killed but the Indians did not bother us. One Indian was even so kind as to take me up behind him on his horse and ride me for a short distance. He wanted me to get on in front but I objected. We were walking and driving a couple of burros in front of us with our blankets, etc. Guess the Indian just wanted to see if we had any money or not and when he found that we had none he decided he had allowed me to ride far enough.

We two threw in our lot with five or six Italian farmers from California who were supplying Tombstone and the country between there and the San Pedro River. There was no Fairbank at that time, just some ranches. Kimbal owned

a ranch near the old iron railroad bridge and Herrick had a ranch a little farther down which he rented. We took out a dam up near the bridge. We also owned a ranch about two miles up the Babocomari from Fairbank.

We had a few cattle too. We were on the roundup in 1883 when Geronimo was out on a raid and several Mexicans were killed just across the line. Never had any of my stock stolen either by Indians or rustlers but had a man come into my house and steal some money and a pistol. Have a good idea who it was but that did me no good, things went on just the same. I knew some of the men who were supposed to be bad, Joe Brooks, Pete Martinelles, who was an Italian Swiss, and others.

In 1887 I moved to Arivaca where I have a store and a few cattle. I have a son twenty-four years old living in Arivaca. His mother died when he was a little baby. We had only been married ten months and twelve days and I have been a widower ever since. Arivaca is not as it used to be. When I first came there were lots of ranches around but now they are all eaten up by the big companies. We manage to make a pretty good living though and when I get real tired of the store I lock it up, put the key in my pocket and come to town.

MRS. A. Y. SMITH

(An Indian Adventure)

Forty years ago, 1895, I came to Arizona with my sick mother. The same year I met and married A. Y. Smith. We had a wonderful life, full of interest, adventure, and romance.

From the first I loved Arizona, for its clear vaulted skies, big open spaces, and vast distances—but unfortunately I was a tenderfoot, and believed every wild story I heard.

The Apaches had been recently placed on reservations but I was quite sure some of them were left lurking behind the tall yuccas or hiding in the foothills.

I came, as a bride, to the Commonwealth Mine in Pearce, then a rousing, rip-roaring bonanza mining camp. Many of the "bad men" from Tombstone made it their rendezvous.

My first venture out of the camp was with a group of other newcomers. We decided to brave the wilds and picnic in Old Cochise Stronghold, nine miles away. In hacks and buggies we started out early one morning. It was a very lovely but lonely drive and we seemed a long time in reaching the beautiful old fortress of stone.

We had a day of exploration. We climbed the steep granite walls of the stronghold, also we listened much of the time to wild Indian stories told by an old-timer there.

When we started back we were not only tired but a bit apprehensive of our lonely drive home. After we had gone about three miles we were terrified to see a wild looking Indian ride from behind a foothill right towards us and upon reaching our hack he circled furiously round and round us, frightening our horses and terrifying us nearly to death. He thrust his ugly scarred face right into ours, leering hideously. Behind us were two buggies with more ladies in them. He rode around them the same way, waving his arms about and yelling in a most savage way. We drove as fast as our horses would go. We came shortly to a loaded wagon. The driver and both horses were gone. We concluded the driver had been killed and the horses stolen by the Indians that we were very sure were lurking behind the foothills near us.

To the north of us we could see another figure moving over some object on the ground; the murdered driver of the wagon we concluded. We now expected that a band of Indians would swoop down upon us from the near-by hills any minute, and we would all be massacred.

Our driver, just out from the East, was fervently praying out loud and the rest of us silently joined him. We were not molested, however, and in due time reached home and told our terrifying story.

It naturally got circulated and the next day the sheriff of the county called upon me and asked me for an exact

account of our adventure. I gave it, with plenty of color. He then told us that the day before our party had surprised two cattle thieves in the act of killing a C. C. Cattle Company's calf and that the Indian, a Yaqui, was trying to divert our attention from his partner, a notorious "bad man," who was hovering over the calf they had killed. After we drove out of sight they rode for the Mexican border, leaving their wagon behind them and were not seen again in that vicinity.

I am sure no real Indian encounter was ever fraught with more fear and seeming reality than was ours, however amusing it may seem now in retrospection.

JOSEPH ANDERSON, GREATERVILLE

(Reminiscences as told to Mrs. Geo. Kitt in 1928)

I came out to Arizona to be with my brother John at Greaterville. Before I got to the place it had as many as 200 or 250 people, a few of them American women. But American women did not take kindly to the place. Even when I got there it was pretty lively and very wild. I did not care for that kind of excitement and have never drunk a drop of liquor in my life and do not intend to. There were a lot of Mexican saloons and a lot of Mexican miners. They had only hand machines and did individual placer mining, but they made a fair living, that is if they had used it for a living. But they spent all their money in the saloons while their families suffered dreadfully. Things were always done on a small scale, though a man from Chicago got interested, had capital and was going to put up big machinery. He was at Greaterville with his agent when for some reason he started out to Sonoita on a burro. Evidently he was waylaid by Indians and shot so that ended that project.



The Last Frontier

ABELARDO AGUIRRE, 72; d Yuma Jan. 11; b Los Angeles, Sept. 4, 1863; to Yuma 1886.

JOHN H. ALEXANDER, 68; d Prescott Jan. 25; b Prescott; farmer.

MRS. LORINDA C. ANDERSON, 81; d Flagstaff; b Stafford Springs, Conn.; to Flagstaff, Aug. 1883.

TOM ARMER, 67; d Montebello, Calif., Dec 23; b Oregon; to Salt River Valley 1876; ex-sheriff Gila County.

JOHN BAGGIORE, 74; d Phoenix Feb. 1; b Italy, May 21, 1861; to Ariz. 1878, Phoenix, 1881; mining, real estate.

EDWARD J. BAINES, 80; d Prescott Feb. 21; b Cambridge, Eng.; to Phoenix 1882; hotel keeper.

JAMES W. BAKER, 78; d Douglas Dec. 1; to Ariz. about 1882; soldier against Apaches, railroader.

MERCEDES BALLESTEROS, 74; d Tucson Jan. 13; b Sonora, Mex.; to Yuma 1869, to Tucson 1875; taken overland on horseback as a baby to Riverside, Calif., to escape revolution.

JOHN BATES, 104; d Gisela Valley; b East Verde, Ariz.; Apache Indian scout.

G. R. BREWSTER, 76; d Phoenix Dec. 17; b Syracuse, N. Y.; to Gila Bend 1883; bailiff, Maricopa County Superior Court.

JOHN IRWIN BROOKS, 85; d Phoenix Jan. 3; b Illinois; to Phoenix 1890; contractor and builder.

WILLIAM G. BRUNDAGE, 74; d Mesa Dec. 8; b Utah; to Mesa 1882; merchant.

MARY M. BURNETT, 80; d Phoenix Dec. 8; to Phoenix 1872.

JAMES T. CAMPBELL, 86; d Sawtelle, Calif., Dec. 2; b Ill.; to Ariz. as Indian fighter, settled Springerville 1888; rancher.

MRS. ROSA D. CARBAJAL, 72; d Yuma Jan. 19; b Hermosillo, Son., Mex.; to Yuma 1864.

JOAQUIN CONTRERAS, over 100; d Phoenix Nov. 24; b Sonora, Mex.; to Ariz. 1855; farmer, cattleman.

GEORGE HENRY COOMBS, 66; d Prescott Dec. 17; b Fountain Green, Utah; to Mesa 1883; farmer.

E. H. COOPER, 65; d Globe Dec. 13; b Indian Terr.; to Gila County 1882; rancher, state champion old-time fiddler.

OWEN DAVIS, 82; d Douglas Feb. 24; b Wales; to Pinal County 1880; rancher.

JOHN DIRUFF, 86; d Copper Basin Feb. 12; b Wimfen, Hessen, Germany; to Prescott 1882; rancher, miner.

JOHN DOAN, 60; d Yuma Dec. 1; b Bowling Green, Mo.; to Yuma 1890; mining, title and trust, territorial and state legislator, member Ariz. Colo. River Comm.

ALFRED S. DONAU, 69; d Mazatlan, Sin., Mex.; b New York; to Tucson 1883; mining, cattle, real estate.

MRS. BENITA C. DURAN, 67; d Winslow Jan. 3; b Cubero, N. M.; to St. Johns 1883.

DANIEL ELDRIDGE, 72; d Chandler Dec. 7; b Utah; to Ariz. 1876; farmer.

MRS. SARAH S. ELMER, 84; d Las Vegas, Nev., Feb. 3; b Staffordshire, England; to Pima 1884; woman's doctor, midwife, pioneer mother.

WILLIAM GASTON, 75; d Prescott Jan. 19; b Baltimore, Md.; to Tombstone 1881; carpenter.

MRS. CELIA HAMBLIN, 86; d Eagar Feb. 15; b Utah; to Round Valley about 1877.

MRS. ROSA BROWN HART, 65; d Berkeley, Calif., Feb. 25; b Shasta County, Calif.; to Tempe about 1875; early student at Tempe State College.

JOSEPH HOFFMAN, 99; d San Carlos Reservation Dec. 4; b Cherry Creek; Apache Indian scout.

JAMES A. HOWELL, 64; d Douglas Jan. 24; b Hamilton, Nev.; to Tombstone 1877; banking, cattle, city clerk Douglas, deputy county assessor, territorial legislator.

JOSE MARIA HUERTA, 71; d Tucson Jan. 5; b Mexico; to Tucson 1875; Indian fighter, pressman, fuel dealer.

CHARLES M. HULETT, 73; d Prescott Dec. 19; b Mass.; to Phoenix 1889; miner, Spanish American War vet.

MRS. NANCY GREGG IRVINE, 75; d Phoenix Jan. 7; b Mo.; to Tempe 1871.

MRS. SUSAN JOHNSON, 91; d Safford Dec. 9; b Va.; to Springerville 1884, Clifton 1887; wife first hotel owner in Springerville.

JOHN MAHILL, 86; d San Carlos Feb. 7; b Ariz.; Apache Indian scout.

ARCH H. MAXWELL, 68; d Nutrioso Dec. 20; to Nutrioso 1878; rancher, Indian fighter.

GEORGE McDONELL, 73; d Phoenix Feb. 15; to Yavapai County 1883; Indian fighter, millwright.

MORGAN MERRILL, 68; d Solomonsville Jan. 11; b Morgan City, Utah; to Mesa 1876; early-day stage line operator, farmer.

FRANCISCO MONROY, 95; d near Tempe Dec. 4; b Altar, Son., Mex.; to Arizona 1875; settled, Maricopa County 1884; rancher.

MORTEN MORTENSON, 73; d Mesa Feb. 11; b Utah; to Flagstaff 1876; freighter, rancher, canal builder.

MRS. MARY E. NAYLOR, 70; d Phoenix Dec. 23; b Calif.; to Phoenix 1876.

MRS. ALZADA SOPHIA PALMER, 78; d Mesa Jan. 8; b Utah; to Snowflake 1877.

JOHN PASCALE, 77; d Tucson Feb. 1; b Maricoveta, Italy; to Tucson 1879; realtor.

FRANK L. POTTS, 74; d Florence Feb. 14; b Creston, Ia.; to Tucson 1886; locomotive engineer, machinist.

MRS. SARAH CATHERINE RAPIER, 75; d Safford Feb. 7; b Bellegreen, Ala.; to Bowie 1889.

MRS. MARY RENAUD, 77; d Phoenix Feb. 19; to Pinal County 1882.

MRS. MARGARET A. SEEBRING, 75; d Tombstone Dec. 25; b Chicago; to Cochise County 1888.

THOMAS H. SCHOLEY, 84; d Prescott Dec. 9; b Ill.; to Ariz. 1882; liquor dealer, rancher.

MRS. ELLA SHUTE, 77; d Florence Feb. 13; b Sacramento, Calif.; to Globe 1873.

JAKE SOLLARS, 79; d Prescott Dec. 28; b Kansas; to Clifton 1876; miner.

WILLIAM A. STARK, 83; d Long Beach, Calif., Feb. 4; to southern Arizona 1879; rancher near Willcox.

MRS. ANNA STILLMAN, 85; d Fresno, Calif.; to Tombstone 1879; church worker.

LUCIUS SWINGLE, 86; d Phoenix Dec. 3; b Wis.; to San Pedro Valley 1877; cattleman.

GENERAL OSCAR F. TEMPLE, 71; d Phoenix Feb. 5; b Buffalo, N. Y.; to Ariz. 1885;

Indian fighter, 10th Inf. U. S. A., Spanish American War vet.; Adjutant General Arizona Nat'l Guard.

MRS. ELLEN THOMPSON, 77; d Nogales Dec. 24; b Ireland; to Globe 1869; Nogales 1887.

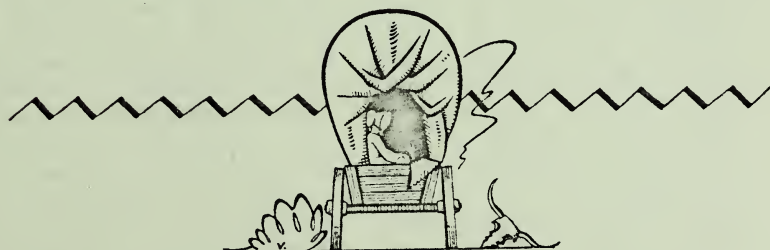
MRS. MARY A. TURNER, 102; d Fairbank Dec. 7; b Texas; to Ariz. 1889; ranchwoman.

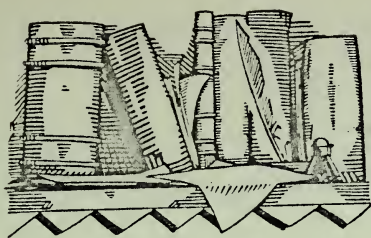
MILO C. WEBB, 92; d Phoenix Jan. 19; b Akron, O.; to Tonto Basin 1885; Civil War vet., cattleman.

T. J. WYLIE, 80; d Bailey, N. C., Feb. 20; b N. C.; to Nogales late eighties; ex-postmaster, alderman, Nogales.

GEORGE HENRY YOUNG, 67; d Prescott Dec. 17; b London, Ont.; to Camp Verde 1878; rancher.

WILLIAM ZIMMERMAN, 85; d Globe Dec. 16; b Austria-Hungary; to Globe 1876; undertaker, furniture dealer, carpenter.





Book Reviews

THE MAGNATE. The story of William Boyce Thompson and his times. By Hermann Hagedorn. Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc., New York City. \$3.00.

The Magnate is essentially the story of a period rather than a biography; the emphasis placed on Thompson only makes the more real that hectic period of his lifetime, 1869-1930, when the world was money-mad. Thompson's dizzy speculations before the great war with amounts of money almost astronomical in magnitude are described in a major portion of the volume and form a part of the story of the rise of copper mining in the West as seen through the eyes of Wall Street. For example, the development of Shannon and Inspiration mining properties in Arizona are, to Hagedorn, but two incidents in Thompson's mad rush toward fortune and power. The tricks and betrayals of the speculator as he booms mining stock to colossal heights and then suddenly brings the price tumbling down to pitiful lows is handled by the author with his sympathies on the side of the speculator.

Throughout the story one catches in Thompson the crude individualism of the miner; one sees

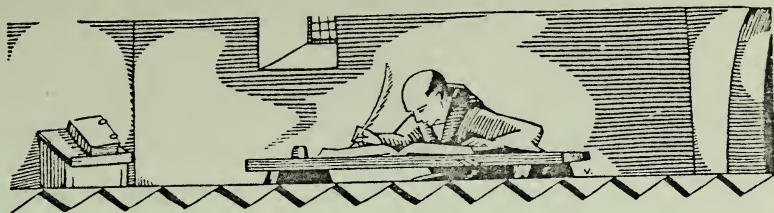
the triumph of the miner's ideal of simple fact over laborious theory, the rough generosity of a spirit ruthless in punishment and then at the next moment helpful. One cannot but be interested in the results achieved by this frontier philosophy when Thompson became an angel of the Republican party in New York, and again when Thompson headed the American Red Cross in Russia and served as President Wilson's unofficial representative during the historic days of the Red revolution. *The Magnate* has its place as a contribution to an understanding of the part copper mines and miners had in Wall Street.

ARCUS REDDOCH.

THE DOMINICAN MISSION FRONTIER OF LOWER CALIFORNIA. By Peveril Meiggs, 3d. Berkeley, University Press, 1935. vi+232 pp., 19 plates, 24 figures, 1 map.

This is a scholarly book based upon five field trips to the Frontera and a careful use of materials in the Bancroft Library, University of California, written by an exponent of the culture-geography school. The Frontera is that region between the old Franciscan missions of San Fernando de Velicata (30° N.) and San Diego (33° N.). Within the Frontera the author recognizes four distinct natural regions whose occupation he traces through the "Indian," "Mission," and "Post Mission" culture stages. A map, photographs and tables add value to this useful addition to *Dominicana*, regional geography, and Lower California history.

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN.



Among the Authors

FATHER BONAVENTURE OBLASSER, O.F.M., a Franciscan missionary, has been among the Indians of the Southwest for many years. By training and experience he is peculiarly well fitted to interpret the Indians under his charge in terms of their environment. At present Father Bonaventure is stationed at Topawa.

DONALD ROWLAND, formerly of the University of Hawaii, is assistant professor of history at the University of Southern California. Professor Rowland received his doctorate at the University of California. His thesis on Spanish relations with the Seri Indians was based on Spanish documents in Seville where he worked on a Native Sons of the Golden West fellowship.

DR. GLADYS A. REICHARD is a young professor at Barnard College who has long been interested in the customs and languages of Indian tribes. She has already analyzed and reduced to writing the grammars of two Indian languages and she is soon to undertake the unique task of teaching the Navajos to write their own language, which has hitherto been handed down merely by word of mouth. She is the author of *Spider Woman*, in which she tells the story of how she spent one summer with the Navajos and learned their art of weaving.

ALBERT WILLIAM BORK, born at Prescott, Arizona, in 1906, is a graduate student of Spanish and history at the University of Arizona. His first job after leaving high school was on the old *Arizona Journal Miner* at Prescott where he developed an interest in the early newspapers of the state and their editors. He assisted in the research work for Alpheus H. Favour's *Bill Williams, Mountain Man*.

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Arizona Place Names. 1935. 503 pp. 3 maps. (General Bulletin No. 2)..... \$1.50
The origin and historic data associated with Arizona place names.

CLARKE, ELEANOR P.

Designs on the Prehistoric Pottery of Arizona. 1935. 76 pp. 38 illus. (22 in color), 3 maps. (Social Science Bulletin No. 9)..... 1.00
The development of pottery among ancient Arizonans, tracing to their beginnings patterns used and analyzing the different elements comprising the designs.

CUMMINGS, BYRON

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A scientifically accurate picture of a flourishing culture which antedated the Aztecs is reconstructed from the architecture and artifacts of the temple of Cuicuilco.

HUBBARD, HOWARD A.

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A history of a road projected to run from Tucson to Globe in the eighties, with a detailed account of its intricate financial aftermath.

LOCKETT, HATTIE GREENE

The Unwritten Literature of the Hopi. 1933. 102 pp. 15 illus. (Social Science Bulletin No. 2.)..... .15
A brief survey of present-day Hopi culture in Arizona and an examination into the myths and traditions constituting the unwritten literature of the Hopi.

LOCKWOOD, FRANK C.

With Padre Kino on the Trail. 1934. 142 pp. 23 illus. map. (Social Science Bulletin No. 5)..... .50
A vigorous account of the work of this Seventeenth Century Jesuit priest who established the famous Kino chain of missions in Sonora and southern Arizona.

WILLSON, CLAIR EUGENE

Mimes and Miners; a Historical Study of the Theater in Tombstone. 1935. 207 pp. 4 illus. (Fine Arts Bulletin No. 1)..... 1.00

A colorful account of the actors and the plays which furnished entertainment in this historic mining camp.

Address orders to the Librarian, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

ARIZONA HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. VII, No. 3

JULY, 1936

HISTORY OF THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN
ARIZONA

RESOURCES OF THE SALT RIVER VALLEY,
1872

RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION THROUGH
PRESCOTT

THE CAMP GRANT MASSACRE

THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF ARI-
ZONA—JOHN CHARLES FREMONT

LETTER TO GOVERNOR GOODWIN, 1864



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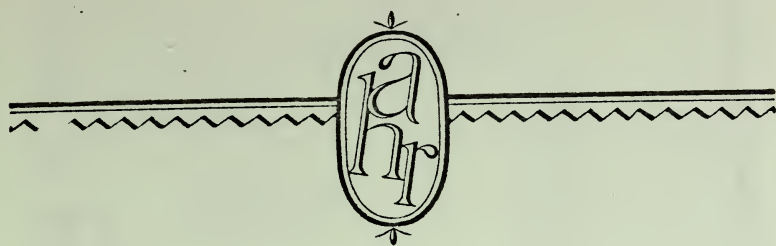
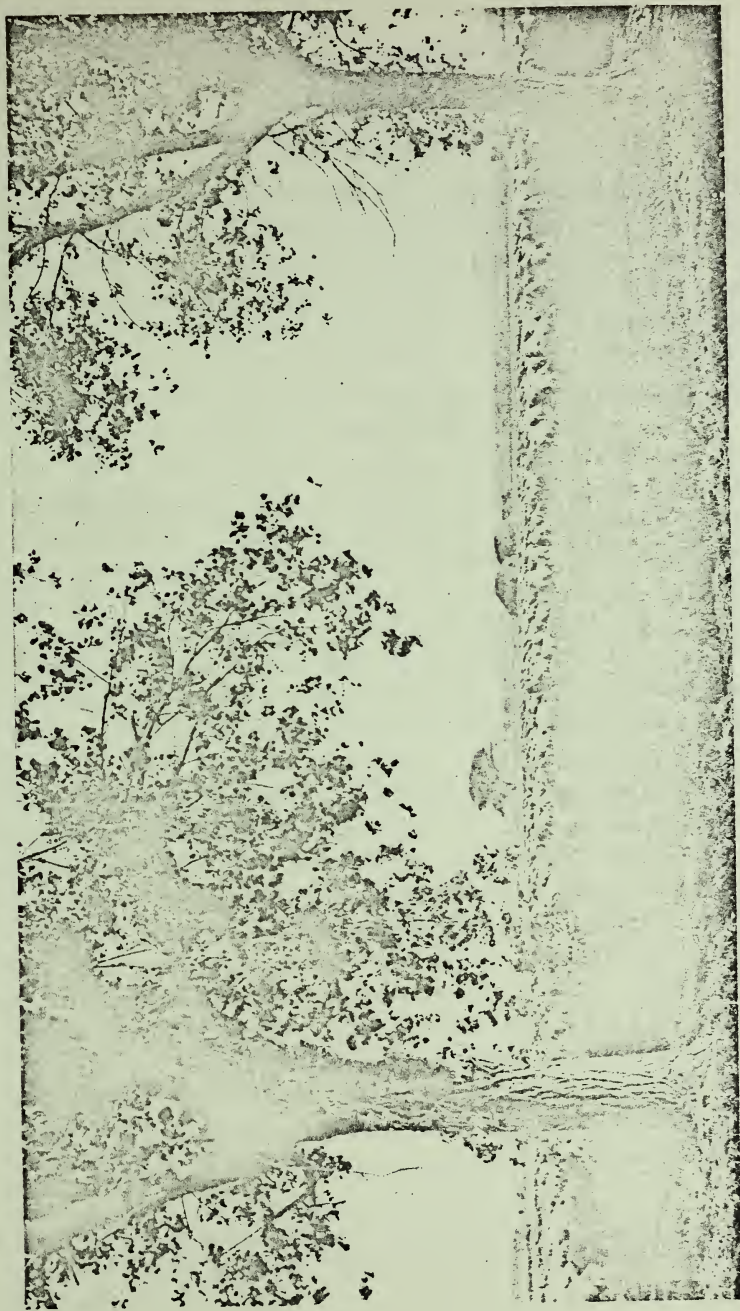


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Range sheep wintering on a Salt River Valley ranch.

HISTORY OF THE SHEEP INDUSTRY IN ARIZONA

BY BERT HASKETT*

Since the days of the shepherd kings of Israel sheep raising has played an important part in the affairs of men. It was the herdsmen on the hills of Judea, more than nineteen hundred years ago, who first heard the glad tidings of "Peace on earth and good will to men," and it was to them alone that the star appeared pointing the way to the manger at Bethlehem, where lay the newly born babe "before whom every knee shall bend and every tongue confess."

All down the ages men eminent in every walk of life have found pleasure and diversion from their meaner cares in sheep raising. On his princely estate at Mount Vernon, Washington maintained a herd of upwards of a thousand head. Letters written by him to his farm overseer, while he was serving as president of the United States, gave careful instructions as to the care of his flocks and the disposition of his wool crop. Interesting side lights on his private life are contained in these letters, which among other things reveal his keen love for the farm and for rural pursuits.¹ His sheep were the best in Virginia, and the mutton from his flocks is said to have exceeded all other in its sweetness and delicacy and was universally extolled by all who had the pleasure of accepting the hospitality of Mount Vernon. For a time during the Wilson administration a flock of these gentle creatures was kept on the White House lawn where they attracted attention throughout the nation. The yield of wool from these sheep was ordered to be sold for charity each year by President Wilson and the proceeds given to such organizations as the Salvation Army. In 1918 they produced 98 pounds of wool which was sold by the Red Cross throughout the country, bringing more than \$52,000;

*Associated with the U. S. Bureau of Animal Industry.

¹ *Report of the Sheep Industry of the United States*, prepared under direction of Dr. D. E. Salmon, Chief, Bureau of Animal Industry, 1892. Part I, p. 56.

the highest price ever received for a like quantity of that commodity. Some of these White House sheep were given by the president to his friends. The last of the flock were finally shipped back to the farm whence they came—namely, that of William Woodward of Belair, Maryland.²

From 1598, the time of the first Spanish settlement in the Southwest, until 1863 the history of the region now comprising the state of Arizona is coupled with that of Mexico and its Anglicized offspring and namesake, New Mexico. In relating the history of the sheep industry of Arizona it will therefore be necessary to give some account of sheep raising as it was carried on in those countries, particularly New Mexico. It was from there that the pioneer woolgrowers, both the Indian and the Caucasian, derived their foundation flocks.

Coronado in his search for the mythical Seven Cities of Cíbola in 1540 brought with him from Mexico large herds of *ganado mayor* (cattle) and *ganado menor* (sheep); the first animals of their kind to enter what is now the state of Arizona and, for that matter, the United States.³ Two years later when he quit the country, disappointed and broken in health, he left a number of sheep at Pecos Pueblo in northern New Mexico with Fray Luis de Escalera, who remained behind to teach the Holy Faith to the Indians. No later accounts, however, are found concerning them and it is believed that they perished with the zealous Escalera.⁴

Half a century later, 1598, into the Rio Grande Valley came Juan de Oñate, the colonizer, from Mexico. He brought with him large herds of good Merino sheep whose descendants remain to the present day.⁵ On the virgin ranges of what are now the states of Arizona and New Mexico these sheep thrived amazingly, pushing all other classes of livestock far into the background.

² Information supplied by Fredric J. Haskins, Information Bureau, *Arizona Republic*, Washington, D. C.

³ George Parker Winship, *Coronado Expedition* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology) Part II.

⁴ Mary Roberts Coolidge, *The Rain Makers*, 1929, p. 274.

⁵ Charles F. Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, 1902, p. 19.

While sheep were the staple production of New Mexico from the time of Oñate's *entrada* to the close of the Mexican War, it does not appear that there was any movement of the flocks, by the Spanish-Mexican settlers at least, westward beyond the Rio Grande Valley. The first drives of sheep into what are now parts of Arizona were apparently made by the Navajo Indians, the herds probably having been stolen from the settlements around Santa Fé, Albuquerque, or Socorro. Just when this pilfering from the *ranchos* began is a matter of conjecture. It must have been, however, at a very early time, as it is on record that the Navajos had sheep in the sixteenth century.⁶ But this should be taken *cum grano salis*, since the first sheep to be introduced on this continent did not appear in Mexico in any considerable numbers until 1530 or in northern New Mexico until 1598. As maintained by some, the Navajos may possibly have obtained their first herds from the Spanish settlers in Sonora or Chihuahua.⁷ In any case it is perhaps safe to assume that sheep raising began with them early in the seventeenth century, and that they have carried it on continuously ever since, even through the time of the Pueblo Revolt from 1680 to 1692. Their favorite haunts and grazing grounds to which they repaired with their stolen animals, after successfully raiding the settlements, were the Chinlee Valley and the Canyon de Chelly country in north-eastern Arizona.

Time passed and indolent, pleasure-loving, pastoral New Mexico, "The Land of Poco Tiempo," drowsed through the years. The settlements thrived and sheep raising, the sole enterprise, grew apace. The Navajos, quick to sense the value of sheep, looted the ranchos and drove off the herds thus stolen to their strongholds in northeastern Arizona where they were reasonably safe from pursuit. While these depredations were resisted and reprisals were made by the Mexicans, the war between the two became a standing

⁶ Special Report Sheep Industry (Department of Agriculture, 1892), Part II, p. 929.

⁷ Sharlot M. Hall, *Out West Magazine*, Feb. 1906, p. 108.

engagement and continued until after the United States acquired the country in 1848.

Sheep to the Navajos were both food and clothing, furnishing them an easier and more dependable livelihood than the uncertain spoils of the chase. When the members of the tribe moved about from place to place, in keeping with their nomadic nature, they took their food and clothing supply along with them on the hoof. The sheep, as is their fashion, quickly adapted themselves to the changes in climate, altitude, and food conditions.

While the Navajos and Apaches were kindred stocks, being related by blood and language, and both stole sheep in their predatory raids on the ranchos, the latter made no effort to keep and raise flocks of their own, all animals stolen by them being promptly killed for food. The number of sheep stolen by these two tribes from the Mexican settlements and pueblo villages along the Rio Grande must have been enormous. In most cases the stolen flocks were driven westward across the continental divide into what are now parts of Arizona.

Speaking of these depredations at a somewhat later period it is stated:

The *Ganado menor*, or sheep, have of late been much reduced in quantities, having suffered to a deplorable extent from the frequent inroads of the aboriginal "lords of the soil," who, whenever hunger or caprice prompts them, attack the *ranchos*, murder the shepherds, and drive the sheep away in flocks of thousands. Indeed the Indians have been heard to observe, that they long before this would have destroyed every sheep in the country, but that they prefer leaving a few behind for breeding purposes, in order that their Mexican shepherds may raise them new supplies.⁸

Although the matter has never been authenticated, it is probable that the Hopi Indians living in pueblos atop of lofty mesas in a region known to the *conquistadores* as the Province of Tusayán, now northern Arizona, where they have made their homes since prehistoric times, obtained and ran sheep in the years 1621 and 1630, the period during

⁸ Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (reprint ed., Dallas, Texas: Southwest Press, 1933), p. 123.

which missions were established at Awatobi, Oraibi, and other of their pueblos.

In their work of spreading the Holy Faith in the far places the *padres* as a rule stocked the new mission outposts with livestock, fruit trees, vegetables, and so forth, brought from Mexico or the older near-by missions. It is likely, therefore, that the Hopi pueblos were no exception to this custom.

The first breeding sheep, of which we have authentic record,⁹ brought into what are now the bounds of Arizona by people of European extraction were those introduced from Mexico by Padre Eusebio Kino to stock his newly built missions of San Xavier del Bac, Guevavi, and Tumacacori about 1700 or shortly thereafter. Later during the eighteenth century great *haciendas* such as those of San Bernardino, Babocomari, and others were established along the valleys of the San Pedro, the Santa Cruz, and the Sonoita rivers by Spanish settlers from Mexico, where great flocks of sheep and herds of cattle were raised. During this period it seems that sheep were also raised by some of the near-by Indian tribes. Padre Font, an itinerant missionary who passed through the country considerably later in the century, reports that the Pimas along the Gila River had sheep in 1776.¹⁰ It is likely also that the Papagos, who lived near the missions and were communicants of the Catholic faith, had sheep at this time.

Just a year before Font's visit to the Pimas on the Gila, Escalante on his pilgrimage through the Province of Tusayán found the Hopi pueblos in flourishing condition, numbering approximately 7,500 souls, possessed of 30,000 sheep.¹¹ Garcés who followed Escalante into the region a year later speaks in his diary of seeing flocks of sheep in the fields there.¹² Four years later, in 1780, Governor Anza of New Mexico, fired with a desire to win the Hopis to the Holy Faith, found them in the throes of a terrible drought.

⁹ H. E. Bolton, *Padre on Horseback*, p. 66.

¹⁰ J. H. McClintock, *History of Arizona*, Vol. II, p. 447.

¹¹ Zephyrin Englehardt, *The Franciscans in Arizona*, Part II, p. 207.

¹² Padre F. Garcés, *Diary and Itinerary*, p. 361.

According to reports no rain had fallen in the country for three years; death had reduced the population to eight hundred and the livestock to three hundred sheep and five horses.¹³

During the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, sheep literally overran New Mexico. Despite the large numbers stolen by the Navajos and the Apaches, the ranges were still heavily stocked. For most part they were owned by the ten or twelve leading families, the *ricos*, who did not know just how many sheep they had. It is related that Francisco Xavier Chávez in 1822, the first governor of the province after Mexico had obtained her independence from Spain, owned more than a million sheep and that others at the time had almost as many.¹⁴ Referring to this period, Josiah Gregg in his book, *Commerce of the Prairies*, says that the *ricos* had from three to five hundred thousand head each and that it was their custom "to farm out the ewes to the *rancheros*, who made a return of twenty per cent upon the stock in merchantable *carneros*—a term applied to sheep generally, and particularly to wethers fit for market."¹⁵

He states further:

Between ten and twenty years ago (from 1824 to 1844) about 200,000 head were driven annually to the southern markets (Mexico); indeed it is asserted that during the most flourishing times as many as 500,000 were exported in one year.

In moving these great flocks of *carneros* into Mexico for trade, large quantities of coarse woolen goods, the handiwork of the Mexican and Indian weavers, were taken along to sell to the Sonorans.¹⁶ Although it lacks verification, these *conductas*, as the expeditions were called, probably passed through Pimería Alta, now southern Arizona. Outstanding among the leaders of these *conductas* was Colonel Chávez, who in 1839 drove seventy-five thousand sheep into Mexico from the Rio Grande.¹⁷ About the same time

¹³ Englehardt, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

¹⁴ Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, p. 19.

¹⁵ Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

¹⁶ Lummis, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

New Mexico woolen goods such as blankets and cloth and probably sheep were marketed in California, where they were exchanged for horses and mules. The route traveled passed directly across northern Arizona.

During the period from the 1830's to the close of the war with Mexico in 1848, there is little of note regarding sheep raising in the country now comprising Arizona, except that the flocks on the great haciendas around Tucson and Tubac seem to have been destroyed by the Apaches, and that the Navajos continued to raid the ranchos along the Rio Grande.

Following the conquest of the Southwest by the United States in the late forties, efforts were made to end the Navajo depredations. Punitive expeditions made by Colonels Doniphan,¹⁸ Sumner,¹⁹ and Washington²⁰ of the U. S. Army against the tribe in the Canyon de Chelly country were for the most part fruitless. While treaties were made with the Navajos at the time, they seem to have been lightly regarded, as the looting was soon resumed. No more effective were the treaties made with the Apaches at about the same time.

In the early fifties both the Navajos and Hopis in northern Arizona possessed sheep in considerable numbers. It does not appear, however, that they were good stockmen, not at least according to American standards. Of the Navajos in 1851 Dr. Letherman wrote:

The males were permitted to run with the herd all season and the young consequently were born in the winter as well as in the spring and autumn and many die. For this reason their flocks do not increase with the rapidity generally believed by those not much acquainted with these people. It is a great mistake to suppose there is anything peculiar about Navajo sheep, for such is not the case.²¹

Gregg writing about the Navajos at a slightly earlier period says that their sheep were superior to those of the

¹⁷ Richardson and Riston, *The Great Southwest*, p. 363.

¹⁸ W. E. Connelley, *Doniphan Expedition*, p. 308.

¹⁹ Ward R. Adams, *History of Arizona*, p. 130.

²⁰ John H. Simpson, *New Mexico and Navajo Country*.

²¹ George Wharton James, *Indian Blankets and their Makers*, p. 56.

Mexicans.²² But even so it seems that they did not succeed in raising sheep in sufficient numbers to keep up their flocks, which were added to quite frequently by animals stolen from the settlements. These thefts ran high into the thousands. In 1850 a military inspector estimated that the Navajos had stolen from the New Mexico pueblos in eighteen months no less than 47,300 sheep.²³

During the decade from 1850 to 1860 approximately 551,000 sheep were driven from New Mexico to California across Arizona. Two main routes were traversed in these drives: one in the south by the way of Tucson and the Gila River to the crossing on the Colorado River at Yuma and the other in the north along the present right of way of the A. T. & S. F. Railway. Colonel Chávez and the Luna family of New Mexico were the chief promoters of these drives. The first of these sheep to reach the coast sold as high as \$16 per head. The price, however, by 1857 had dropped to \$3.37 per head.²⁴

John Gallantin who took scalps of Indians and sold them to the Mexican government participated in these drives, which was very unfortunate for him. Upon reaching the Colorado River at Fort Yuma, the scene of his earlier crimes, with 2,500 sheep from New Mexico, he was killed by the Indians with twenty-five other Americans who were also driving sheep to California.²⁵ Felix Aubrey famous as a scout and frontiersman, was another who took part in these overland drives to the west coast. His herds, however, traversed the northern route by the way of the valley which now bears his name.²⁶

In his *Personal Narrative*²⁷ it is stated by John Bartlett that Josiah White, attracted by the high prices paid for sheep on the Pacific Coast, after crossing the Colorado River at Fort Yuma in the winter of 1851 en route from

²² Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

²³ J. H. McClintock, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

²⁴ Special Report Sheep Industry (Department of Agriculture, 1892), Part II, p. 919.

²⁵ John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches*, p. 116.

²⁶ Farish, *History of Arizona*, Vol. I, p. 353.

²⁷ Vol. II, p. 177.

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1. Mrs. Samuel Hughes, Tucson
2. Isaac Goldberg
3. Charles M. Clark, Canyon Lake

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1. Oscar Francis Townsend, Yuma
2. James Coyle, Gila Bend
3. Mrs. Morris Goldwater, Prescott

Vol. VI, No. 3, July, 1935

1. Santiago Ward
 2. D. E. Adams, Central
- Vol. VI, No. 4, October, 1935

New Mexico to California with 4,217 of these animals, was attacked by the Indians who killed and made away with his entire flock. Bartlett also writes:

Near our camp [on the Santa Cruz at Tucson] we found Mr. Coon, an American with 14,000 sheep on his way to San Francisco. For the protection of his large flock he had sixty persons, forty-five Americans and fifteen Mexicans.²⁸

Another who drove sheep to California during this period was John Abel, a partner of Benjamin Riddell. As set forth in the version of the trek, Abel started from Chihuahua for California in 1855 with ten thousand sheep, fifty cattle, and five wagons, accompanied by José Miguel Castañeda, later a well-known citizen of Arizona, serving as quartermaster of the expedition. Passage across Arizona was by way of San Bernardino Springs (subsequently owned and used by John Slaughter as a cattle ranch), the Santa Cruz River, Tucson, thence west to the Gila River which was followed to Fort Yuma where the Colorado River was crossed by ferry in order to reach California. Below Tucson the party was attacked by the Apaches under Mangus Colorado who poisoned the water, stole the horses, and attempted to kill the herders. The expedition, however, after many hardships and heavy losses reached its destination.²⁹

In the preliminary surveys made by Lieutenants Whipple and Beale for railway and wagon routes across northern Arizona to the Pacific Coast in 1854 and 1857 respectively, sheep were taken along to supply meat for the expeditions.³⁰ Captain Sitgreaves who preceded them in 1851 over practically the same route, but who did not thus provide himself, was reduced to the necessity of killing and eating his pack mules to save his command from starvation.

Lieutenant Ives, who, in 1858 after sailing up the Colorado River to the extreme limit of navigation for steamboats, made an overland trip to the Hopi villages, mentions in the official report of his journey flocks of black and brown

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 293.

²⁹ *Portrait and Biographical Record* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company), p. 203.

³⁰ *Pacific Railroad Report*, Part. III, Vols. III and IV.

sheep grazing in the fields belonging to these Indians.³¹

By the early sixties the Navajos had become a thrifty and independent tribe, devoted for the most part to simple pastoral pursuits. Their sheep which at that time probably numbered into the hundreds of thousands were grazed along the harsh slopes of the continental divide, partly in New Mexico but mostly in Arizona. But with some of the young braves the love for the warpath was still predominant, and raids for plunder were frequently made by them on the white settlements and the pueblos. General Carleton in his reports of these depredations states that a number of citizens were killed and many head of livestock stolen.³²

So frequent and troublesome had these raids become by 1863 that war was declared on the whole Navajo nation by General Carleton, and a regiment of volunteers under Kit Carson was sent into Canyon de Chelly against them. Carson, an old friend of the Navajos, knew just how to fight them. And so successful was he in storming their strongholds, in destroying their peach orchards and cornfields, and in killing and capturing their horses, cattle, and sheep that by 1866 approximately nine thousand of the tribe had surrendered and were held at Bosque Redondo, near Fort Sumner, on the upper Pecos River as prisoners.

But farming in the Pecos Valley had no charms for the Navajos, and they prevailed so hard on the War Department to be sent back to their old haunts that finally a new treaty was made with them in 1868, and a reservation consisting of 3,328,000 acres set aside for them on their old tribal grounds in northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona.

Under the terms of the new treaty they were to receive allotments of land, farming implements, seeds, provisions, and other gratuities. But best of all fifteen thousand sheep and goats were to be issued to the tribe. During the period of their captivity their livestock had decreased to 1,550 horses, 1,025 goats, and 940 sheep.

³¹ J. C. Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West*, p. 120.

³² C. A. Amsden, *Navajo Weaving*, chap. 11.

Upon their release from Bosque Redondo June 18, 1868, following the approval of the new treaty, the imprisoned Navajos of both sexes and all ages numbered 7,111 persons. But their condition at the time of their return to their reservation was pitiful in the extreme, and steps were at once taken to relieve their distress until they could raise crops and could be provided with livestock, especially sheep which had supplied them with food and clothing for years, and which they knew how to handle in their primitive way.

Delivery of the fourteen thousand sheep and the one thousand goats to the Navajos in accordance with the terms of the treaty was made at Fort Defiance, Arizona, by Captain Bennett, agent of the Navajos, beginning November 29, 1869, which required five days to complete. The Indians were counted as they emerged from a corral. Two sheep were given to every man, woman, and child. In reporting the delivery to Major Clinton, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the territory of New Mexico, under date of August 19, 1870, Captain Bennett wrote:

I have never seen more anxiety and gratitude displayed than was shown by these people during this issue. I think they realize the magnitude of the gift, and are reaping the full benefit of it, as they are not killing any, but have large additions to their flocks in all parts of the reservation.³³

It is stated traditionally by the Navajos that Captain Bennett made them a talk at the time the animals were given to them. He told them to take good care of their sheep, which if properly handled would increase rapidly and provide food and clothing for all members of the tribe, but if the sheep were allowed to perish from inattention, the Indians would be destitute, and there would be sorrow and want in the land.³⁴

Ordinary native sheep of New Mexico were delivered to the Navajos by the government. They were unquestionably of inferior breeding but were hardy and well suited to the Indians and the harsh environment of the country. They

³³ Information supplied by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

³⁴ Mary Roberts Coolidge, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

were bought by the government of Vicente Romero, La Cueva, near Fort Union, New Mexico.³⁵

While to some it may have seemed severe, the subjugation of the Navajos and their incarceration for five years at Bosque Redondo was under the circumstances fully justified. For almost two centuries war parties from this tribe had wantonly plundered the white settlements and pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona with impunity, and it was high time that their raids were ended and condign punishment meted out to the guilty parties. In selecting a leader for the expedition to be sent against the tribe, the choice of Kit Carson by General Carleton was most proper and fitting. Carson knew the Navajo country and he knew the Navajos. He knew when to be firm and when to be merciful with them. In his attacks on them not many of the Indians were killed; it was a bloodless war. Knowing Carson as they did, many of the Indians voluntarily surrendered to him.

That rapine and murder do not pay was brought home to the Navajos at Bosque Redondo. Since then they have never lost sight of the fact that their lives and property would be vouchsafed them just so long as they respected the lives and property of the whites and other Indian tribes. It was a hard lesson but the Navajos profited from it. War with the Great White Father, they found was just what General Sherman said it was.

As the sheep issued to the Navajos by the government increased, they moved farther and farther west into Arizona in search of new grazing grounds for their flocks until the Little Colorado River was reached. From that year to the present they have lived in peace on their great reservation, most of which lies in Arizona. While nominally wards of the federal government, the Navajos are perhaps the most thrifty and independent of all our Indian tribes. With their flocks and herds, it seems that they are able to work out their own salvation. According to counts made by the United States Bureau of Animal Industry in 1935 their sheep and goats numbered 927,683 head. They also have horses and cattle in considerable numbers.

³⁵ Information supplied by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Strange as it may seem sheep have wrought wonders with the Navajos. Since Carson subdued them they have been as peaceful and inoffensive as their own sheep. It seems to have dawned on them that sheep, their most cherished possession and the one upon which they are dependent for food and clothing, can be kept only so long as they shun the war-path.

Women rank high in Navajo-land and are the principal property owners. The sheep belong to them exclusively. In shepherding their flocks they travel on horseback, bestriding their mounts *à la mode des hommes*. They are keen flockmistresses, their sheep being closely guarded. At times during the day the herd is grazed on the open range, usually in the care of an Indian boy or girl, more frequently the latter, who guides his or her charges to feed and water by casting pebbles to the left or right of the leaders. At night the sheep are folded near the *hogan*, the rude dwelling in which the family lives, where they are carefully protected by the Argus-eyed owner.

Strange shepherds are these Navajos, indeed. In moving about over their vast reservation in search of feed and water for their flocks, they are said to be in their appearance and ways of living not unlike the Bedouins of the East. Seen thus on the move, driving their herds before them, the men, women, and children all mounted on half-wild ponies, clothed in garments of bright colored velvet and cotton cloth, shod in moccasins of buckskin, their persons adorned with hand-wrought belts, necklaces, bracelets, and finger rings of silver and turquoise, the handiwork of their own silversmiths, they are as colorful in their primitive finery as ever an Arab on his native heath.

Sales of wool, lambs, and sheep from the Navajo flocks run high in the aggregate annually and are big factors commercially in the Southwest. Large quantities of wool from their sheep are made into rugs and blankets by the women—an art in which they are highly skillful.

Weaving among the Indian tribes of the Southwest is obviously a prehistoric art. Such vegetable fibers as wild cotton, yucca, and the bark of trees were used by them in

making fabrics, but with the introduction of sheep into the country by the Spaniards, the Navajos were quick to utilize the newly-found material, wool, for the purpose. Whether the art of weaving developed in the tribe or was borrowed from the Pueblos is a matter that has never been definitely authenticated. The fact is, however, that the Navajos are the most skillful weavers on the continent today. That their weaving was influenced and modified in some respects by the woolen garments worn by the early Spanish settlers in the Southwest seems to admit of no doubt. Just when they began using wool from their own sheep for making clothing, serapes, ponchos, and shoulder blankets for their own use is not a matter of record, but it apparently began late in the seventeenth century. The floor rugs made by them and marketed so extensively at the present time are late creations from their primitive looms, having first appeared about fifty years ago. It is said of them:

... they are peculiarly attractive to those who become familiar with their remarkable qualities and very interesting history. Indeed they are unique among Indian products, and may be said to stand aloof from all others. Made by only one tribe, they have characteristics that no other people try to imitate, and at this time are attracting probably more attention than any other article of Indian manufacture.³⁶

The sheep given to the Navajos at Fort Defiance, Arizona, in 1869 to replace those killed by Kit Carson, as before stated, were of inferior breeding, being the common, coarse sheep of New Mexico, the descendants of the flocks brought into the Rio Grande Valley by Juan de Oñate near the close of the sixteenth century. According to some accounts these sheep were of Merino breeding, which is both possible and probable, as Merino sheep were introduced into Mexico by Cortés in 1530 and placed on his hacienda at Cuernavaca.³⁷ They are said to have increased rapidly and to have soon spread over most of Mexico. It is maintained by some on the other hand that the sheep first brought into New Mexico were the Chourro, the coarse long-wooled sheep of Spain, and not the Merinos. Whether they were

³⁶ U. S. Hollister, *The Navajo and his Blanket*, p. 11.

³⁷ W. H. Prescott, *The Conquest of Mexico*, Vol. III, Book VII, p. 281.

the one or the other or the two intermixed, the fact is that they increased rapidly in New Mexico where they probably interbred and degenerated into the mongrel strain which furnished foundation stock for Arizona and other western states and territories. Speaking of these sheep at the time they began to move into Arizona and before they had been improved by importations from the eastern states Gregg says:

The sheep of New Mexico are exceedingly small, and scarcely fit for anything else than mutton, for which indeed, they are justly celebrated. Their flesh has a peculiarly delicious flavor, and is reckoned by epicures to be far superior to our best venison. . . . The sheep there are also remarkable for their horny appendages, which frequently branch out in double or triple pairs, giving the head a very whimsical and grotesque appearance. . . . A large quantity of wool is of course produced, but of an inferior quality. It has sometimes been sold as low as fifteen cents per pound, or (as more generally sold) per fleece, which will average perhaps but little over a pound. . . . They formerly sheared their flocks for their health (the animals probably being infested with parasites) and rarely preserved the fleeces, as their domestic manufactures consumed but a comparatively small quantity.³⁸

While the sheep of New Mexico, the source of Arizona's pioneer herds in the middle sixties, were admittedly of inferior quality, they had many valuable characteristics. The scions, of a sturdy ancestry, whether Merino or Chourro, they had through centuries of neglect and lack of care degenerated into scrubs. But during this long period of time they had learned to rustle food and water in a land where both are often scarce, to resist storms, to protect themselves and their lambs from wild animals, characteristics which gave the Navajo and the pioneer Anglo-American breeder in Arizona a firm foundation upon which to build a better grade of sheep.

Sheep raising by white people in Arizona, that is, the industry as it exists today, began in the middle sixties. The business, however, was on a different basis from that in the East. In Arizona, as elsewhere in the West, it became a major enterprise and not a side line to farming or some other pursuit. At first sheep were kept only for their wool

³⁸ Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

but as the population increased and the transcontinental railways were constructed across the territory, mutton sheep and market lambs were produced.

Where it was the sole enterprise as it became in Arizona, sheep raising was carried on in a most systematic manner. As a rule the early pioneer ranchos were located where grass was abundant, near a spring or on the borders of a stream. The site may have been in the mountains, on the uplands, or plains. Where the rancho was a large one, as many of them were, the sheep numbering into the tens of thousands, vast tracts of land were required for pasturage, which invariably were unfenced.

Made up into units of two thousand sheep each, the flocks were driven far from the headquarter rancho, remote from ponds or brooks, and taken to water only once in two or three days. Accompanying the itinerant herd by day and by night was the shepherd, or herder as he is now known in the West, and his helper, the camp tender. Food, water, bedding, and camp equipment for the two were carried on pack burros, camp being made in the open wherever night found them.

In grazing the flock was allowed to spread out for a mile or more, the herder keeping watch over it from some vantage point. At midday the sheep were driven to the shade, where they rested and ruminated until late in the afternoon. During this time the herder returned to camp, partook of his luncheon, and then lapsed off into his postprandial siesta. At sundown, guided by the herder, the flock was headed for the camp site, where the night was passed in the open. Should the sheep incline to scatter during the night, the herder would make a circle of the flock and stand by until it quieted down. Watchful and sagacious dogs guarded the sheep against prowling wolves and other animals of prey. The well-trained shepherd dog was indeed a prodigy. From morning to night two or three of them when properly trained would follow a flock of sheep and drive them to camp at sundown without any guidance other than their own extraordinary instincts. Two or three times each week the wandering herd was visited by the *caporal* who counted

the flock and attended to the simple wants of the herdsmen. In seeking feed and water the sheep usually traveled from 5 to 10 miles a day. In running sheep on the range the American growers followed the Spanish-Mexican customs, which with few changes are used today.

All sheep brought into the valleys of the Santa Cruz, the San Pedro, and the Sonoita rivers by the missionaries and the *hacendados* in the eighteenth century were apparently killed and stolen by the Apaches when they overran that part of the country about the middle of the nineteenth century. The first sheep reintroduced into Arizona after the Apache outbreaks by a Caucasian was a flock of seven hundred head belonging to Juan Candelaria, which he drove from Cubero, New Mexico, to a ranch site selected by him a few miles south of the present town of Concho, in Apache County, in 1866. A few years later his brothers, Roselio, Ambrosio, and Averisto also brought sheep from New Mexico and settled in Apache County, which then embraced about one fourth the territory.

The Candelaria sheep were the descendants of seventy-one head brought by their maternal grandmother at the beginning of the nineteenth century from Vera Cruz, Mexico, to Cubero, New Mexico. Two years, from 1799 to 1801, were required to make the drive, the sheep in the meantime increasing from 71 to 141 head. Four convicts were released from the Ulloa prison in the harbor of Vera Cruz for the purpose of driving the sheep to Cubero. Due to the purebred Merinos—three ewes and a black ram—the Candelaria sheep became in a few generations the best in western New Mexico. The line has never since been broken, the blood of the four Spanish Merinos still coursing in the veins of the Candelaria sheep.

Until the time of his death, October 15, 1930, Juan Candelaria made his home in or near Concho, Arizona. He was for many years the largest sheep owner and taxpayer in Apache County. During the sixty-four years that he lived in Arizona, he was never molested by Indians, even though his ranches were directly between the Apache and Navajo reservations. He knew Indians and was their friend always.

Isadore Solomon and James Baker also brought sheep into Arizona at about this time, the former settling in the Gila Valley in what is now Graham County and the latter in what was then Yavapai County near the butte that now bears his name. Both entered Arizona in 1868. Migratory herds from New Mexico also came into the territory during this period, grazing along the upper course of the Little Colorado River.

A disastrous drought prevailed in southern California during 1870 and 1871 which led to driving into Arizona thousands of head of sheep and cattle. The virgin mesas were a godsend to the sheepherders and cattlemen, and this led also to the greater development of those industries in Arizona. During this time these incoming flocks grazed over all of western Arizona, and it was from them that alfalfa was started in those sections, the seed having been carried in the wool and on the feet of the sheep. More than likely some of these sheep remained in Arizona. A year or so later two Basques from California grazed their herds in the vicinity of Oracle, Pinal County. Later accounts of them, however, are lacking.

By the middle seventies Arizona's reputation as a sheep range seems to have been quite generally acknowledged. According to accounts the movement of flocks from California into Arizona was well under way at that time. In the issue of December 5, 1874, the *Arizona Weekly Citizen* states:

Thousands of sheep coming to Pima County.—Mr. H. Maloney, quite well known in Arizona, writes us from Los Angeles, on November 20, that N. H. Craft, an energetic young man from Philadelphia, and himself would start here with a flock of sheep about December 1st; also that Messrs. Garrett, Steele and Allison—three splendid young men, would also bring a lot at the same time; also that Messrs. Williamson & White of Fairfield, California, would come with 2000 head. He says sheep command pretty high figures there, good ewes being held at \$4 to \$4.50. All in all the prospects ahead for Pima County appear quite hopeful.

On April 3, 1875, the same paper states further:

Messrs Allison, Craft, Steel, Maloney and Garrett drove their 1300 sheep out in the vicinity of Tubac. Mr. Craft has made a hasty trip of observation as far south as the Patagonia country and is decidedly pleased with it.

Sheep raising also began in the northern part of the territory in 1875, the first flocks having been brought into Mohave County from California by the late John Clark, who for most of his life was a resident of Flagstaff. On December seventh of that year Clark crossed Hardy's Ferry into Arizona with three thousand sheep. Passing the winter on the Big Sandy, he moved in the following spring to a range near Bill Williams Mountain where he remained a year, moving thence in 1877 to a long, narrow valley south of where the town of Flagstaff was later established, between Elden and Mormon mountains, now known as Clark's Valley.

Following closely in Clark's footsteps came William Ashurst (father of the present senator, Henry F. Ashurst) with sheep from Nevada, and a year later, 1876, the Daggs brothers, J. F. and W. A., brought flocks from California, the former settling on Anderson Mesa at a place now known as Ashurst Run and the latter on Silver Creek in Apache County. The Daggs sheep were purchased from the Bixbys of Long Beach and of Amstoy of Los Angeles. Later they also bought sheep from the Hunings of Albuquerque. They were joined at this time by a third brother, P. P., the three carrying on together under the firm name of Daggs Brothers & Company until 1890. Trading their Silver Creek ranch to the Hunings for three thousand wethers, they moved to Chávez Pass in 1877, where water for their flocks was obtained from a well near a large prehistoric ruin. The Huning wethers were finally sold for \$2.00 per head, which was considered a good price at that time. On account of their growing business, the Daggs Brothers & Company in the early eighties established their headquarters at Flagstaff, from where they directed their large holdings. They owned at times fifty thousand sheep, many of which were let out on a share basis to other sheepmen.

Large numbers of sheep also were driven from California across northern Arizona into New Mexico in the seventies. These drives for the most part were made by New Mexico breeders for the purpose of improving the native New Mexico sheep with the highly bred California Merinos. At the

head of these movements were Cols. Stoneroad and Chávez, Capt. Clancy, Hugo Zeber, Pinkerton, Carpenter, McKeller, Robinson, Curtis, Booth, and the Cosner brothers. It was with these parties that Clark, Ashurst, and the Daggses entered Arizona. The sheep making up these trail herds, numbering about forty thousand head, originated in Merced County, California. Most of the flocks were driven to Puerto de Luna, New Mexico, a distance of 1,600 miles. Seven and a half months were spent on the trail. The Colorado River was crossed at Hardy's Ferry and the Beale Wagon Road was followed for most of the way across Arizona. The sheep which consisted of breeding ewes were bought for \$2.00 a head in California and sold for \$3.50 a head in New Mexico.³⁹

California during the years 1870, 71, 76, and 77 suffered grievously from a succession of droughts, and it was largely on this account that sheep from there at those times sought new feeding grounds in Arizona, Nevada, and New Mexico.

In 1876 Dr. Rothrock of the Wheeler exploration party, United States Army, reported seeing flocks of sheep in the White Mountains, Apache County, Arizona. While information is lacking on the matter, these sheep may have been owned locally by the Candelarias or have belonged to New Mexico sheepmen.

Woolen mills were established in the late seventies in northern Arizona by Mormon settlers from Utah at Sunset City and Tuba City. The purpose was to manufacture woolen goods from the wool of the Navajo sheep. The mill at Sunset City was built in 1876 under the direction of Lot Smith,⁴⁰ the bishop and head of the colony there. Most of the machinery used was hand made and was very crude. Some very good homespun cloth is said to have been turned out. The output of the mill, however, was not a success, as the Mormon women could make better cloth on their hand looms at home. The enterprise was hence soon abandoned. The mill at Tuba City was built by John W. Young, a son

³⁹ Special Report Sheep Industry (Department of Agriculture, 1892), Part II, p. 919.

⁴⁰ Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place Names*, p. 430.

of the renowned Brigham Young. It was equipped with 192 spindles and was to have looms for cloth making. From the meager reports available, it appears that like the one at Sunset City it was a failure and soon passed out of the picture. Fish says that this mill was at Moenkopi and not Tuba City, a distinction without a difference as the two places are not far apart.⁴¹

Along with Clark, Ashurst, and the Daggs brothers, others who established sheep ranches in various counties in Arizona in the seventies were:

R. C. Kinder.....	Apache
Marion Clark.....	Apache
Feliz Scott.....	Apache
Marion Scott.....	Apache
McGarey Bros.	Pima
J. J. Blake	Pima
Walt. L. Vail.....	Pima
Sanford & Hilton.....	Pima
W. H. Perry.....	Yavapai
Frank Hunt.....	Yavapai
(?) Robinson	Gila
Tully, Ochoa, and Delong.....	Pima

It is likely, however, that there were others running sheep in the southern part of the territory at that time whose names are not included in the foregoing list, as the wool shipments from Tucson in 1876 amounted to 200,000 pounds.

When the population in Arizona was small during the sixties, seventies, and early eighties, sheep were raised only for their wool, there being but little demand for lamb or mutton. As Arizona at that time was without a railroad, the marketing of the wool crop presented quite a problem. It was started, however, on its long trip to the eastern markets by ox teams, by which means it was transported either to Trinidad, Colorado, the nearest railway connection east, or to points on the Colorado River from where it was sent by boat around Cape Horn to Boston, the leading wool market.

⁴¹ J. H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*, p. 159.

While the sheep industry in Arizona in the hands of the whites had its inception in the sixties and seventies, it was during the decade from 1880 to 1890 that it burgeoned forth as a leading enterprise in the northern counties. Following the building of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad across the territory in the early eighties, settlers from the Middle West rushed into the new country, eager to share in the rich grazing lands and other resources ripe for development.

With the incoming tide of home builders came horses, cattle, and sheep, the latter supplementing the pioneer flocks introduced by Candelaria, Clark, Ashurst, the Daggs brothers, and others. From California came the improved Merinos, from New Mexico the hardy little type of no breeding at all, and from the Navajo reservation the so-called Navajo sheep, a long-bodied, long-legged, light-wooled sheep that had been run so long without an outcross that it had lost most of the original good qualities of its sturdy forbears.

In time the intermingling of these various types produced a class of sheep peculiar to Arizona, one well adapted to its ranges and climatic conditions. At first but little was done to improve the bloodlines of the flocks, the growers exchanging rams of their own raising with one another.

But as the industry grew and the prices for lambs and wool advanced, efforts were made to improve the breeding of the sheep and to increase the wool output. In 1882 sixty-six purebred rams were bought by Daggs Brothers & Company of the Vermont Merino Sheep Breeders Association and placed on their ranges in northern Arizona. All were Spanish and French Merinos and cost from \$100 to \$600 per head. They were carefully selected and are said to have sheared in some cases 40 pounds of wool annually.

The lambs from these Vermont rams and the California Merino ewes with which they were mated were the best in the territory at that time. Choice young rams from this cross were sold to sheepmen throughout the Southwest for breeding purposes. A thousand head were thus disposed of for from \$6.00 to \$12 per head during 1886.

Purebred Merino rams from other parts of the country were also brought into Arizona by Daggs Brothers & Company during the eighties. Many first prizes were awarded them on their rams at the Albuquerque fairs in 1884, 85, and 86. Both the shearing and mutton qualities of the native sheep of Arizona and New Mexico were improved by the Daggs's importations.

Merino blood, both the American and Delaine strains, predominated in practically all Arizona flocks by the late eighties. In fact at the present time over 95 per cent of the ewe herds are of that inheritance, or rather of its French offshoot, the Rambouillet. Of all breeds of sheep, the Merino is the oldest, dating back to antiquity. While indigenous to Spain, where it was owned exclusively by the nobility, and by them valued so highly that its exportation was forbidden under penalty of death, the breed gradually spread to all parts of the world. In France, the United States, and Australia it was developed and improved into a strong stockily built animal, equal in size to many of the English mutton breeds. On account of its improved mutton form, its heavy fleeces, and its good herding qualities, it is especially popular on the Arizona ranges where due to the light rainfall it thrives amazingly.

Efforts to improve the Arizona sheep during the eighties were also made by Harry Fulton of Flagstaff. His work, however, differed from that of the Daggs brothers, whose breeding was confined to the Merino line. Fulton sought a combination wool and mutton type. To obtain sheep of this kind, he crossed the Rambouillet with the English "down breeds." He found, however, that this cross produced a good mutton animal, but one unsuited for breeding purposes on the Arizona ranges. Like that of others his search for a dual-purpose sheep adapted to the Southwest was a failure.

Arizona was an open range country in all that the term implies during the period from 1880 to 1890. Its mountains, mesas, uplands, and valleys were covered with a wealth of plants and grasses that seemed forever inexhaustible, all open and free to the cattleman, the sheepman, or

whoever cared to use them. Except for the Indian reservations, one could go with his flocks where he would.

Without let or hindrance, in contrast with conditions today, sheep in the eighties could be driven from the slopes of the San Francisco, Mogollon, and White mountains where they fed in the summer months to the warm, lush valleys of the Salt and Gila rivers where the winters were passed. But it was not long until the cattlemen, seeking a place in the sun for their herds, followed the sheepmen into the northern counties. Soon after the completion of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad, the Aztec Land & Cattle Company secured possession of large tracts of land in Apache and Yavapai counties for use as a cattle range.

This company, known locally as the Hashknife outfit, together with the Arizona Cattle Company and other large owners of livestock, shipped and drove great numbers of cattle into northern Arizona. Sheep in many instances were pushed to the side lines, their ranges utilized and their movements circumscribed.

For a time there was some contention between the sheep and cattle interests over the use of the range, most of which was public domain. There were no serious outbreaks, however, between the two factions until the late eighties when the Graham-Tewksbury feud, or Pleasant Valley war, the bloodiest affray of its kind in the Southwest, broke out in Tonto Basin, in which a score of men lost their lives. Often referred to by writers as a war between sheep- and cattlemen over the use of the range it seems that other factors figured in the matter. While sheep taken into Tonto Basin did precipitate the first bloodshed in the fight, it appears that they were only an indirect cause of the trouble which had long been smouldering between the Tewksburys and Grahams, cattle rustlers, over cattle that they had jointly stolen from Jim Stinson.

According to versions of the affair, the Tewksburys in order to bait their enemies, the Grahams, obtained sheep on a share basis from the Daggs Brothers & Company of Flagstaff and moved them to Tonto Basin on a range used by the Grahams for cattle. In their attempts to drive out the

sheep, a Mexican herder was killed by one of the Grahams. Following this encounter the sheep were moved from Tonto Basin but the feud went on for years, the rival parties killing one another on sight, the Grahams eventually being wiped out. Other than the Tewksburys and Grahams and a few of their followers, not many sheep- or cattlemen were implicated in the affair, except possibly as peace officers.

Believing that their interests in many ways were mutual, sheepmen in Arizona met at Flagstaff on October 1, 1886, and organized the Arizona Sheep Breeders and Wool Growers Association.⁴² Membership in the organization was voluntary. Regular meetings were held once a year. The purposes of the association were to promote the breeding and use of purebred rams, to arrange for the annual rodeo conducted each year for the purpose of going through each man's herd and removing the stray sheep and returning them to their respective owners, to agree on a uniform wage scale for herders and shearers, and to assist the industry generally on all matters of common interest. Such resolutions as were adopted were purely incidental. The officers chosen to serve the new organization for its first year were Harry Fulton, president; C. H. Schultz, secretary; and P. P. Daggs, treasurer. Accounts of subsequent meetings of the association in many instances are lacking. In 1889 its officers were J. B. Tappan, president, and P. P. Daggs, secretary.

Encroachments of cattle on their grazing lands and the need for a better winter range for their flocks led sheepmen in the eighties to move their flocks to the deserts and foothills around Phoenix where good forage prevailed in the winter months. Here also the lambing and shearing seasons could be advanced three months earlier than in the north. This annual migration to the warm valleys of the Salt and Gila rivers in the fall and the return north to the mountains in the spring is characteristic of the sheep industry of Arizona.

Late in October when heavy frosts make the high mountain regions untenable the sheep are started on their long

⁴² *Coconino Sun*, Flagstaff, October 10, 1886.

trek southward. The journey thither is over established driveways through heavily forested areas. Day and night each flock is accompanied by a herder and a camp tender who carry their bedding and provisions on pack burros. The flocks move one behind the other a few miles apart, feeding as they travel, the trail in places dipping into valleys and canyons, in others skirting lofty mountain ranges or passing over high plateaus. Now expanding, now contracting into a compact mass, the great herds move slowly southward, traveling from 5 to 10 miles a day. Ease and deftness mark their passage over the rough and broken country.

Following closely in the rear is the herder directing the advance assisted by watchful collies, "the bribeless guardians of the helpless sheep," always eager to urge on the stragglers or round in the outer flanks of the scattered herd.

Day after day the long march southward continues. Frequently it is through regions of indescribable wilderness where the herder has great difficulty in keeping his flock together and to avoid mixing with the one ahead or behind him. The poorly blazed driveway must be followed, and the flock must reach water regularly every two or three days. Unbridged streams must be crossed, inclement weather faced, and at times irate cattlemen and nesters confronted.

At length the foothills of the Bradshaw and New River mountains are reached where the flocks stay temporarily until January or February when they move down to the deserts around Wickenburg, Phoenix, and Mesa where the long drive ends. The distance thus traveled by the flocks from their summer to their winter ranges is from 200 to 300 miles. The change in altitude brought about in the journey is about 6,000 feet, and the difference in climatic conditions is almost as great as that between Maine and Florida.

In this drive from the north to the south and vice versa, the sheep stand the trip well, especially the Merinos, the aristocrats of the ovine world.

With few exceptions the herders and camptenders are Mexicans, Spaniards, or Basques who speak their mother



tongue and have many of the customs and mannerisms of their native lands.

It was during the early eighties that the Atlantic & Pacific Railway was built across northern Arizona, thus bringing in easy reach the great markets for all classes of livestock, and it was largely due to this stimulus that the sheep business grew, prospered, and became a permanent enterprise in the middle and late eighties.

Below are the names of the pioneer sheepmen who established ranches in the territory in the period from 1881 to 1890.

APACHE COUNTY

G. W. Wakefield	Manuel Candelaria	James Pierce
J. D. Houck	Solomon Barth	Patrick Trainor
John Hulsey	Nat Greer	(?) Greenwood
John Adie	Alex. Rudd	(?) Wahl

COCHISE COUNTY

J. J. Blake

D. G. Sanford

COCONINO COUNTY

Frank Hart	Jerid Woodbridge	F. Rosilda
J. B. Tappan	Walt. J. Hill	T. F. McMillan
Dr. E. B. Perrin	Harry Fulton	Robt. Bell
J. D. Bell	Harry Melbourne	John Elden
Jus Reimer	C. H. Schultz	Frank Ebert
Jos. Dent	W. C. Lockwood	R. H. Cameron
H. E. Campbell	E. S. Gosney	Wm. Clostermeyer
H. C. Lockett	Jas. Cart	John Noble
I. N. Lewis	Gus. Mudersbach	J. X. Wood
Chas. E. Howard	Felitus Holt	Wm. F. Hull
D. M. Riordan	F. W. Sisson	M. J. Riordan
T. A. Riordan	Colin Campbell	Jas. May
Thos. Sayer	J. R. Lockett	D. S. Lewis
Jas. Goodwin	Kerrins & Larson	W. H. Campbell
D. M. Francis	T. J. Norris	Emma Gonzales
J. R. Smith	Fred Holden	

NAVAJO COUNTY

H. H. Scorse	Robert Scott	Henry Huning
Jas. Scott	Sanford Jacques	Jas. Porter
Jos. Sponseller	Wm. Morgan	W. B. Leonard
John Nelson	J. Q. Adamson	Santiago Baca

MOHAVE COUNTY

Gentry & Johnson

PIMA COUNTY

Tully, Ochoa & Delong

PINAL COUNTY

Pusch & Zellweger

YAVAPAI COUNTY

Geo. A. Strickland

(?) Domínguez

In 1890 Daggs Brothers & Company dissolved partnership, the three brothers thereafter running separate outfits. A year or so later the sheep owned by them passed into other hands.

Exclusive of those owned by Indians, Arizona had in 1870, 803 sheep; in 1876, 10,000; in 1880, 76,524; in 1890, 698,404, the period of the largest growth being the decade from 1881 to 1890.⁴³

By the early nineties sheep raising had become a lucrative and important enterprise in the central and northern counties of the territory. The large profits realized attracted men of standing and ability to the business. For the most part those who gave it the requisite care and attention amassed fortunes within a few years.

In 1891 there were 117 double-deck cars of sheep shipped out of the territory, about 35,000 head in all, the number being split about equally between the Pacific Coast and the eastern markets. In most cases the sheep were sold at home, being delivered f.o.b. to local shipping points at prices ranging from \$3.00 to \$3.50 per head. The average live weight of the sheep ran from 95 to 115 pounds. As a rule only grown wethers were sold, the lambs being carried over until they reached maturity. No record seems to have been made of the number driven to feed lots in other states.⁴⁴

The wool crop for 1891, which exceeded 5,000,000 pounds, was for the most part shipped East, although for-

⁴³ Special Report Sheep Industry (Department of Agriculture, 1892), Part II, p. 935.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 944.

merly a great deal of it was sold to California buyers. In most cases growers at that time preferred to sell at home, as it cost about 3 cents per pound to ship to eastern markets, and usually considerable time elapsed before sales were consummated. The principal eastern markets were Boston and Philadelphia, although dealers at Albuquerque at times bought large quantities direct from growers.⁴⁵

March, April, and May was the shearing time, the work being done with blades. The weight of the fleeces ranged from 6 to 11 pounds, the average being 7 pounds for the territory. The wool was classed as fine and fine medium and was a most desirable grade which brought top prices in the markets. Of the 1891 clip 4,438,988 pounds was shipped by the Atlantic & Pacific Railway and 384,000 pounds by the Southern Pacific Railway.⁴⁶

On an average 75 per cent of the ewes raised lambs in the early nineties. These, together with the wool crop, which netted a return of \$1.50 a head on those of shearing age, made up the yearly returns on the flocks.

Including all expenses, the cost per sheep a year at that time averaged about 75 cents. The fact that grass was free and abundant, that sheep thrived the year round on it without other feed, that the ranges could never be used for purposes other than grazing, and that losses from diseases, storms, predatory animals, and poisonous plants were small made the sheep industry in Arizona both profitable and attractive. Yearly profits as high as 50 per cent on the investment were not then uncommon.⁴⁷

Along with that of the whites, sheep raising by the Navajos also forged ahead in the early nineties. At that time the members of that tribe living in Arizona had about 400,000 sheep and 100,000 goats. While their herds were poorly graded they furnished the Indians with both food and clothing. Less than 3 pounds of wool per head were obtained from their sheep annually. It was of poor quality and fit only for carpets, rugs, and coarse woolen goods. Much of

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 943.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 943-45.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 944.

it was off color, being black, brown, or gray. Their sheep were owned and run in flocks of from four hundred to five hundred head each. Their methods of flock management were primitive in the extreme, but few of these Indian-owned sheep ever reached the markets, all the excess being kept for meat on the reservation. The making of rugs for commercial purposes was increasing rapidly at this time.⁴⁸

Reports that good ranges were still available in Arizona in the early nineties resulted in large numbers of sheep from other states being driven into the territory at that time. Steps were taken by local cattlemen in some instances to stop the importations. On February 20, 1892, cattle growers held a meeting at Flagstaff to protest against the encroachments of sheep from other states on their ranges, and action was taken at the time to secure legislation regulating the movement of sheep without adequate range rights on recognized cattle lands. In the meantime cattlemen moved to protect their grazing grounds.⁴⁹ Rights of Arizona sheepmen were to be respected. In their quest for new pastures southern Arizona was not overlooked by sheepmen from other states. While the fight over the range in the Flagstaff country between the cattlemen there and nonresident sheep owners was going on, 20,000 sheep were shipped into Sulphur Springs Valley from Texas and placed on ranges along the foothills of the Chiricahua Mountains. The invasion was bitterly resisted by local cattlemen.⁵⁰

The Arizona Sheep Breeders and Wool Growers Association, organized at Flagstaff on October 1, 1886, was still going strong in 1892. Hugh Campbell was president and Walter J. Hill, secretary. At its annual meeting on July 5, of that year, the new officers elected to serve for the ensuing twelve months were H. D. Ross, president; J. D. Newman, vice president; J. F. Daggs, secretary; and D. M. Francis, treasurer.

Good times and high profits in the sheep business, however, did not long endure, as the worst panic ever expe-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 945.

⁴⁹ *Coconino Sun*, February 25, 1892.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1892.



Hugh E. Campbell.

rienced up to that time swept the nation in 1893 and continued in effect for several years thereafter. During this period the prices of ranch and farm products dropped below the cost of production. In fact, markets for such commodities virtually disappeared. Sheep from Arizona in some cases were sold on eastern markets for less than the freight and marketing charges.

Commenting on conditions in the territory at that time, it was stated by a local paper:

Arizona represents 1,000,000 fine wool sheep. Ten years ago she could not muster 25,000, but hostile Apaches abounded on every hand. Before the free trade party gained the ascendancy these million head of sheep could have been disposed of readily at \$3,000,000. Today under threatened free wool these same sheep could not find a buyer at more than one dollar and a half a head, or \$1,500,000. Our wool clip in 1892 brought us \$840,000. We realized from a greater clip in 1893, \$280,000, all of which represents a grand total loss of \$2,000,000, and the end is not yet with blighted hopes for the future.⁵¹

It was also stated in a later number of the same paper that the wages of shearers had dropped from \$35 and \$40 per month in 1892 to \$15 and \$25 per month in 1894, and the price of shearing for the same years from 10 to 5 cents per head.

The wool marts of the country were paralyzed and fleece prices badly shattered. Before the panic Arizona wools sold at home for 22 to 27 cents per pound, but in 1893 they dropped to 7 to 13 cents per pound on the eastern markets. Most wool, in fact, was shipped on consignment and sold after long delays at whatever price could be obtained.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, February 15, 1894.

Throughout the period of the depression the Arizona Sheep Breeders and Wool Growers Association was active on all fronts in safeguarding the sheep industry of the territory. The president of the association at that time was J. F. Daggs. The scope of its activities is shown by the following letter which was published in the *Coconino Sun*, June 28, 1894:

All wool growers of this Territory are requested to assemble in Flagstaff on July 5, 1894, for the purpose of devising means to procure cheaper labor, freights, provisions and assessed valuations. It appears to be a fact that sheep are being assessed for at least twice their value. To avoid this discrimination immediate action is necessary.

C. H. SCHULTZ,

Secretary.

Listed by counties the number and value of sheep⁵² in Arizona in 1894 were as follows:

Apache	133,388	\$173,681
Cochise	6,435	12,895
Coconino	201,449	205,553
Gila	2,500	3,900
Graham	27,580	43,157
Maricopa	2,849	4,310
Mohave	-----	-----
Pima	1,620	2,893
Pinal	2,619	4,110
Yavapai	19,000	28,500
Yuma	20	20
Total	397,460	\$479,019

Even though their business was as dead as the proverbial doornail, sheepmen carried on through the dark period of the depression, probably for the reason that there was nothing else for them to turn to at the time.

But despite low prices, lack of markets and other vicissitudes that followed in the wake of the panic, the sheep business in Arizona held together and finally emerged triumphantly from the depression in the late nineties. The era of prosperity that followed was reflected in the growth

⁵² McFarland and Poole, *Historical and Biographical Record of Arizona* (Chicago), p. 39.

and expansion of the industry. The resultant high prices received for wool and lambs was the incentive for opening new ranges and enlarging the facilities for running sheep.

Following this expansion and the need for additional winter ranges, the fall movements of sheep to the southern counties where the climate is mild and feed abundant, which began in the late eighties, now increased in numbers from year to year. In passing back and forth to their winter and summer ranges, the flocks often trespassed on grazing grounds used by cattlemen. While the lands in most cases were public domain, the cattlemen claimed the first right to them on account of prior use. The courts usually upheld them in the matter and the sheep were forced to move elsewhere. Clashes between cattlemen and sheepmen over the use of the range were in most cases of minor importance and were as a rule amicably adjusted. The following is from the *Coconino Sun* of April 16, 1898:

The sheep raisers have captured all the grazing grounds in northern Arizona. A Gila County cattle raiser complains that the ranges of that county are being ruined by large herds of sheep from the northern ranges and if this state of affairs is permitted the cattlemen will in a short time be starved out. The cattleman failed to suggest any remedy for the inroads of the sheep upon the cattle interests. The probability is that within the next five years cattle raising on the northern ranges will be a thing of the past, as it has often been said that Arizona is the native home of the sheep and many cattlemen have sold their cattle and placed sheep on their ranges.

Raising purebred or highly graded Rambouillet rams by Arizona flockmasters, which languished after the Daggs brothers withdrew from the business in the early nineties, was revived during the late nineties. Joseph Dent and Thomas Sayers, half brothers and of British birth, who carried on at Flagstaff under the name Dent & Sayers, together with Edgar T. Smith of Seligman were pre-eminent in this sphere at that time. The Dent & Sayers foundation flock of five hundred purebred Rambouillet ewes were obtained from the Baldwin Sheep Company of Hay Creek, Oregon. Their stud rams came from registered flocks in Ohio and other eastern states. The Smith flock was started a year or so later from 3,200 grade Rambouillet ewe lambs purchased

from J. Q. Adamson, a pioneer breeder of Seligman. While the Smith herd was not eligible for registration, it was highly graded and was gradually being improved by the best blooded rams obtainable in the United States. Rams from the Dent & Sayers and Smith flocks, on account of their high quality, were readily disposed of throughout the Southwest where they did much to improve the bloodlines of the range sheep. Smith, Dent, and Sayers were highly successful breeders and business men. Smith at the time of his death in 1908 was one of the wealthiest stockmen in the territory, his fortune having been made in ten years.

Flock improvement through the use of purebred rams, in fact, was quite general in Arizona by 1900. In addition to the Merino strains, most of the more common breeds such as the Shropshire, Oxford Down, Tunis, Cotswold, Lincoln, Hampshire, and Suffolk were tried out by growers at one time or another. It was found, however, that ewe flocks best adapted to the Arizona ranges were those carrying a large preponderance of Merino blood, notably that of the Rambouillet, and that the best market lambs were those of the Hampshire-Rambouillet cross.

According to reports given out at the time, the number and value of sheep⁵³ on the ranges in Arizona in 1900 were as follows:

Ewes	452,271	\$1,061,358
Lambs	193,303	284,858
Rams and wethers	216,187	491,573
Total	861,761	\$1,837,789

Approximately 300,000 head were accredited to Coconino County.

Late in the nineties the movement to conserve the remaining public resources in the West began to take form and substance in Washington. President McKinley accordingly in 1896 by executive proclamation established the San Francisco Mountain and the Black Mesa forest reserves in Arizona. These areas now known respectively as the Coconino

⁵³ *Portrait and Biographical Record* (Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company), p. 1021.

and the Sitgreaves national forests contained within their bounds the most valuable timber and best summer grazing lands in the territory.

The administration of these forest reserves, as they were then called, was in the hands of the General Land Office of the Interior Department, Bingham H. Herman being chief of the former and Ethan Allen Hitchcock secretary of the latter.

The Bureau of Forestry under the Department of Agriculture, whose chief was Gifford Pinchot, had at that time nothing to do with timber or grazing matters except in an advisory capacity.

The San Francisco Mountain Forest Reserve, consisting of more than 3,000,000 acres, was a checkerboard reserve, every odd-numbered section of which was railroad land. This resulted from a grant made by the government to the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad for 20 miles north and south of the track as an inducement to them to build the road. A few years later these lands passed to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad when it took over the defunct Atlantic & Pacific line. In the meantime, however, quite a large number of these railroad grant sections had been sold to livestock companies and to land sharks. Although these lands were practically worthless, the passage by Congress of the Lieu Land Law made them highly desirable as they could then be exchanged, acre for acre, by their owners, whether private parties or the railroad company itself, for valuable grazing, agricultural, or timberland belonging to the government elsewhere outside of a forest reserve. The owners of these worthless lands were hence anxious to have this trade made for pecuniary reasons. It was claimed by them that the exchange would make the San Francisco Mountain Forest Reserve a consolidated body, which was essential for the protection of the forest and watershed upon which the Salt River Valley was dependent for irrigation water. This was all true enough, but they went further and maintained that all grazing was injurious to the timber and valuable plant covering on the forest, and that all livestock, sheep especially, should be excluded from it. Had this suggestion

been put in effect, northern Arizona would have been depopulated, as stock raising was the principal enterprise there. The grazing issue pushed into the foreground was a smoke screen stirred up by the owners of these worthless railroad grant lands to becloud the issue until they could exchange their holdings for valuable government land elsewhere.

Quite a following in the Salt River Valley and in the federal departments at Washington, where the wisdom of permitting any grazing in parts of the West and on the forest lands was sharply questioned, supported the owners of the railroad grant lands in their efforts to exchange them for other lands.

In addition to the San Francisco Mountain and Black Mesa reserves, others were soon established at Prescott and Grand Canyon, Arizona. The creation of these reservations, embracing within their bounds vast stretches of grazing land, was not favorably regarded by local stockmen, as it was believed that all grazing would be prohibited from them. A cold reception was accorded the young men sent to administer these reserves. A. B. Herman, a brother of Bingham Herman, the then Commissioner of the General Land Office, who arrived from Oregon to take charge of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, wired the head forester, John D. Benedict, Santa Fe, New Mexico, that the *Williams News* of which George U. Young was editor, in a very objectionable article had said that the best method to adopt for retaliation against the government was "to hang these U. S. tree agents to the trees that they had come to save."

Threats to exclude livestock, especially sheep, from the newly created forest reservations in Arizona emanating from high sources and backed by strong influences in the Salt River Valley and other parts of the country caused much apprehension among sheepmen in the central and northern parts of the territory.

Aroused by the fallacious statements being widely disseminated throughout the country about their industry and the efforts being made to deprive them of their summer ranges on the reserves—ranges they had used for more than twenty years—stockmen in Arizona promptly took steps to

combat the insidious propaganda going the rounds and to defend their "rights and prerogatives" to the use of those lands.



E. S. Gosney.

But to carry on their fight effectively an organization of all sheepmen who grazed their herds on the forest reserves during the summer months was essential. A meeting of all such graziers was accordingly called at Flagstaff in the fall of 1898, at which time the old Arizona Sheep Breeders and Wool Growers Association, organized in 1886 and which had functioned ever since, was revamped, refinanced, and reinvigorated for the purpose of fighting the movement to exclude sheep from the reserves.

A young lawyer, banker, and adviser to many sheepmen in the territory, and himself an extensive owner of sheep and ranches, E. S. Gosney, was chosen president of the reorganized association, which was renamed and known thereafter as the Arizona Wool Growers Association, the name it bears today. The selection of Gosney, fitted by training, temperament, and inclination to direct the fight for the sheepmen, was most judicious and fortunate.

In the following summer articles of incorporation of the Arizona Wool Growers Association were drawn up by Gosney in accordance with the laws of the territory and were promptly adopted without change by the organization.

The object and purposes of the association as set forth in the articles of incorporation were the "consultation, collection and diffusion of facts and knowledge of interest to the industry in Arizona; and for mutual and concerted action on all lawful and proper matters that might arise directly or

indirectly, affecting the best interests of the members of this Association and the sheep industry."

Unlike the San Francisco Mountain Forest Reserve that of the Black Mesa was a solid reserve, containing no railroad or privately-owned lands. It also had fewer complications in other respects affecting grazing than did the San Francisco reserve. In the articles of incorporation of the association two co-ordinate organizations were provided for: (1) the Eastern Division, made up of sheepmen using the Black Mesa Forest Reserve lying south of the railroad grant lands in Apache and Navajo counties and (2) the Western Division consisting of sheepmen using the San Francisco Mountain Forest Reserve, the railroad grant lands, and those parts of the forest and the public domain lying west and south of these railroad grant lands. Each of these divisions had its own officers and managed its own local affairs. Together, the two constituted the Arizona Wool Growers Association with general officers, president, secretary, etc. Every range sheepman in Arizona at that time joined the Arizona Wool Growers Association.

Opposition to the use of the forests for sheep grazing, in the meantime, continued to grow throughout the country. It was most pronounced at Washington, especially in the Interior Department and in the American Forestry Association. Opposition also flared up at meetings of livestock organizations in the West, such as those of the American National Live Stock Association, the National Wool Growers Association, and some others. Much of this antagonism was concealed. In places it seemed to be inspired by interests that preferred to fight under cover.

In exploding this erroneous propaganda which by the late nineties was running rampant and which if not counteracted would ultimately result in ruin to a great industry, Gosney carried the fight into the high places, the departments at Washington, the Salt River Valley in Arizona, and to stockmen's meetings all over the West. Wherever opposition appeared, he bearded his opponents in their dens. Newspaper and magazine articles were answered in the public press.

Early in 1899 it was reported by J. F. Wilson, Arizona's delegate to Congress, that Secretary Hitchcock of the Interior Department had declared to him his intention to exclude all livestock from grazing on forest reserves in Arizona. Before definite action was taken on the matter, however, Gosney and Albert F. Potter, a cattleman of Holbrook, conferred with the Secretary of the Interior at Washington and induced him to allow the various classes of livestock to graze on the forests in the usual manner during 1900. It was agreed upon, however, that grazing conditions on the reserves would in the meantime be investigated by Gifford Pinchot, Forester, and Fredrick V. Colville, a specialist of the Bureau of Plant Industry, both of the Agricultural Department, and a report made thereon by them which would serve as a basis for settling definitely thereafter whether or not livestock would be permitted to graze on the forest reserves in Arizona. While the investigation was made as arranged and a report made of the findings by Pinchot and Colville, it was not made public by Secretary Hitchcock. It was surmised, however, that it favored grazing on the reserves and that it corroborated Gosney's stand that sheep grazing was not injurious to the forests.

As no announcement of the Pinchot-Colville report was forthcoming from Secretary Hitchcock by the spring of 1901, it was generally believed that sheep grazing was at an end on the forest reserves in Arizona. But Gosney again went to Washington and through the influence of his friend, Gifford Pinchot, and the Director of the Geological Survey succeeded in getting Secretary Hitchcock to again relent and permit stock on the reserves for another year.

The climax to the matter, however, was reached in January, 1902, when a committee made up of the land commissioner for the Santa Fe Railroad, their Washington attorney, and one or two citizens claiming to represent the Salt River Valley called on President Roosevelt and prevailed on him to approve Secretary Hitchcock's order excluding sheep from forest reserves in Arizona. No public announcement was then made that the order had been issued,

but it leaked out when the members of the committee returned to Phoenix from Washington.

Consternation prevailed throughout northern Arizona over the ruling. It meant ruin to the sheep industry, practically the sole enterprise in several counties there. But something had to be done. Gosney was asked by the Board of Supervisors of Coconino County to go to Washington and endeavor to have the order rescinded. But owing to illness in his family and for other reasons he declined. Elias S. Clark and J. E. Jones, attorneys at Flagstaff, were sent instead.

Gifford Pinchot, who at that time probably had more influence in Washington than most cabinet officers, had been promptly advised of the developments by Gosney, who had anticipated this very contingency. Gosney, who had Pinchot's word that everything within his power would be done by him to see that the stockmen using the forests in Arizona would be fairly treated, felt that the matter would soon be equitably adjudicated. The outcome was that Pinchot succeeded in having President Roosevelt instruct Secretary Hitchcock to rescind the order excluding sheep and other livestock from the forest reserves in Arizona and to permit their use for grazing purposes as recommended by Pinchot and Colville in their report.

It was a hard fight with the advantage first on one side and then on the other. But the sheepmen won, because they were organized, had at their head an able leader, and finally for the reason that they were right. As stated by Gosney:

Sheep still graze these reserves. Their herders and managers are most efficient fire guards, and the best interests of the forests, the watersheds and the State have been conserved by this course. The railroad alternate sections were made a part of the forest reserve. The lieu land speculation was perfected and the lobby faded away, but the sheep industry had a close call and was saved by the organized work of the Arizona Wool Growers Association and the courage and fidelity of Forester Pinchot and President Roosevelt.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The facts relating to the controversy between the sheepmen and the U. S. Department of the Interior are taken from the Gosney Manuscript on file in the office of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. It begins with the first settlers who came to the Americas in search of a new life. These early pioneers faced many challenges, but they persevered and built a new society. Over time, the United States grew from a small colony into a powerful nation. It fought wars, both with and without, and emerged as a global leader. The story of the United States is one of resilience and innovation, of a people who have overcome adversity and built a better future for themselves and for the world.

The early years of the United States were marked by a spirit of exploration and discovery. Settlers from all over the world came to the New World, bringing with them their own customs and traditions. They worked the land, built homes, and established communities. Despite the hardships of frontier life, they found a sense of purpose and a new identity. The United States was born, and it grew.

As the United States expanded its territory, it also expanded its horizons. It explored the vast western lands, seeking new opportunities and resources. The discovery of gold in California and the opening of the transcontinental railroad were just a few of the milestones that marked this period of rapid growth. The United States was becoming a more unified and powerful nation, and its influence was being felt around the world.

The United States has always been a nation of immigrants, and this has been one of its greatest strengths. It has welcomed people from all over the world, and they have made their own contributions to the American dream. The United States is a land of opportunity, where anyone can achieve their dreams through hard work and determination. This is the story of the United States, a story of hope and progress.

Many perplexing questions arose in the administration of the newly-created forest reserves. It was the federal government's first attempt to regulate grazing on public land. There were no sign posts pointing the way. A new course had to be charted. In allotting grazing areas, arranging for water development, ranch improvements, driveways and trails, and in preventing injury to the young seedlings and the valuable plant covering from overstocking, sharp differences at times arose between stockmen and forestry officials. But the young men appointed to supervise the reserves were as a rule patient, capable, and conscientious and succeeded in most instances in settling such controversies amicably.

On February 1, 1905, the matter of handling the forest reserves was transferred from the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior to the Bureau of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. In recognition of its new duties the designation Bureau of Forestry was changed to Forest Service. A little later the term forest reserves was changed to national forests.

Soon after the management of the forests was switched to the Department of Agriculture, grazing on the reserves was put under close regulation. Users of the forest reserves were given permits to graze a specified number of sheep on a definite allotment from June 1 to November 1 of each year. A fee of 8 to 10 cents per head for sheep was charged for the privilege. For flocks moving back and forth across the forests, permanent driveways were established, their bounds being agreed upon by a committee consisting of a cattleman, a sheepman, and a forestry official. The principal driveways thus laid out on the various forests were the Heber-Reno, the Mudtanks and Government Gap, the Grief Hill, the Oak Creek, and the Bearsprings. Most of these are still in use. The committee by which they were designated was composed of A. F. Potter, cattleman; E. S. Gosney, sheepman; and F. S. Breen, forest supervisor.

The appointment of advisory committees composed of forest permittees to act on matters relating to grazing, whose recommendations were binding on members of livestock as-

sociations, was approved and adopted by the forester in 1896.

In a large measure the policy adopted by the Forest Service in regulating grazing on the forest reserves in the West was worked out by forestry officials and sheepmen in Arizona.

After grazing matters on the forest reserves were permanently settled in the early nineteen hundreds, the sheep industry in Arizona enjoyed a period of great prosperity. The only setback was a rather severe drought during 1904 and 1905 in the southern part of the territory. Sheep in large numbers were brought in from other states and territories for breeding and fattening. The largest importations were from Utah, which began in 1902 and continued until 1907 or 1908. The years 1905 and 1906 marked the high tide of the movement when fifty and eighty thousand head respectively were imported. The sheep were bought by local growers who drove them overland into Arizona in flocks of two thousand each. The sheep were ferried over the Colorado River at Lees Ferry, then driven across the great Navajo Indian Reservation to ranges near Williams, Flagstaff, Winslow, and Holbrook. These Utah sheep were of strong Rambouillet and Delaine inheritance and were a fine addition to the native flocks. There were some importations also from New Mexico during this period.

Scabies, a highly contagious skin disease, is the only malady of a serious nature that is known to have prevailed to any considerable extent among sheep in Arizona. Introduced into the territory at an early date, it had by 1905 become such a menace that steps had to be taken to control its spread and to treat flocks infected with or exposed to it. As there was no territorial agency to handle such matters, the Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture was asked to direct the work of eradicating the disease. The request was complied with and a crew of trained veterinarians and laymen was sent into the territory, and the work of stamping out the malady was inaugurated under the direction of Dr. Marion Imes. The following year the Arizona Sheep Sanitary Commission was

created by an act of the territorial legislature, its function being to co-operate with the federal government in the work of controlling the spread and in eradicating scabies and all other infectious and contagious diseases existing among sheep in the territory. Together, the two agencies finally brought the scabies outbreak under control. It was a difficult task. More than a million sheep, half of which were Indian-owned, divided into hundreds of flocks, scattered over an



F. W. Sisson.

area larger than several eastern states, had to be frequently inspected and treated for the disease. More than 40 per cent of the flocks were found to be infected with the maldy. The treatment given consisted of swimming the sheep through a long vat filled with a liquid solution of nicotine or a lime and sulphur preparation of sufficient strength to kill the causitive agent of the disease—a small mite, hardly visible to the naked eye. The treatment and methods used were effective, the disease being completely eradicated.

In addition to disease-eradication work, valuable assistance was also given Arizona sheepmen by the United States Department of Agriculture through the Bureau of Biological Survey in destroying rodents that are injurious to the grasses and forage plants and in poisoning and trapping predatory animals such as mountain lions, wolves, bobcats, and coyotes which take a heavy toll from the flocks.

Since October 1, 1886, when the Arizona Sheep Breeders and Wool Growers Association was organized, the sheepmen of the state have maintained an organization of their own. While the early records and the names of the officers and members are in some cases missing, the association has met regularly each year since then. With one or two ex-

ceptions the regular annual meetings have been held at Flagstaff, the county seat of Coconino County, where about one third of the state's sheep population are owned and grazed.

Well supported by its members the association has always functioned promptly and effectively. The good judgment and wise counsel of its officers and leading members have guided the industry through many trying periods when a mistake would have resulted in ruin to the business. Although its membership has never been large, the association has nevertheless been a strong one. Outstanding among its officers, F. W. Sisson, E. S. Gosney, H. E. Campbell, and A. A. Johns may be mentioned. The help rendered by them to the sheep industry is incalculable.



Charles C. Hutchinson.

The officers who served the association since the late eighties, through the nineties, and during the early part of the nineteen hundreds are as follows:

Presidents		Secretaries		Dates	
E. S. Gosney	- -	T. E. Pollock	- - - -	1898 to 1907	
T. E. Pollock	- -	F. W. Perkins	- - - -	1907 to 1908	
E. S. Gosney	- -	F. W. Perkins	- - - -	1908 to 1909	
F. W. Perkins	- -	L. D. Yaeger	- - - -	1909 to 1910	
H. E. Campbell	- -	M. I. Powers	- - - -	1910 to 1912	
H. J. Gray	- -	Leo Verkamp	- - - -	1912 to 1915	
E. A. Sawyer	- -	Leo Verkamp	- - - -	1915 to 1917	
H. E. Campbell	- -	M. I. Powers	- - - -	1917 to 1918	
H. E. Campbell	- -	F. W. Perkins	- - - -	1918 to 1923	
A. A. Johns	- -	H. B. Embach	- - - -	1923 to 1931	
A. A. Johns	- -	Jerrie W. Lee	- - - -	1931 to -----	

Other than those previously named, sheepmen who gave special attention to raising purebred or highly graded rams

were C. C. Hutchinson, Seligman; Colin Campbell, Ash Fork; Grand Canyon Sheep Company, Williams; Sawyer-Otondo Sheep Company, Winslow; Sanford Sheep Company and T. J. Hudspeth, Seligman. All were successful breeders; their flocks, which were improved from year to year by the best blood obtainable, supplied breeding stock for practically the entire Southwest.

Although Hutchinson raised principally purebred Rambouillet, he also did crossbreeding, mating Rambouillet ewes with Hampshire rams, the object being to get a better market lamb than a straight Rambouillet. Success crowned his efforts. Practically all market lambs are now of that cross. Colin Campbell and the Grand Canyon Sheep Company, which took over the Dent & Sayers outfit in 1912, were large and successful breeders. For the most part their flocks were of Rambouillet extraction, those of the former being grades. The Sawyer-Otondo Sheep Company raised mostly Rambouillet and Corriedale crosses. The Sanford Sheep Company raised Hampshires. They were, however, not long in business, the remnant of their flock being sold to Colin Campbell who in turn sold it to the Grand Canyon Sheep Company. Started with ewe lambs purchased from the Grand Canyon Sheep Company in 1921, the Hudspeth flock of purebred Rambouillets is the only one of those named, with possibly one exception, that is still in existence. It is a high-class flock, admired by all who like sheep of superior breeding.

RANGE SHEEP OWNERS OF ARIZONA FROM 1891 TO 1906

APACHE COUNTY

W. H. Gibbon	J. T. Lesuer	J. R. Patterson
Peterson & Co.	Jones brothers	A. & B. Schuster
Pina brothers	Padilla brothers	J. R. Armijo
Anastacio Chaves	Jerry Gonzales	Jesus Peralta
Dionicio Duran	Pedro Montana	Santos Ortega*
David Ortega	Thos. Ortega	Cheney brothers
Juan Candelaria*	Leandro Ortega	Wahl Estates*
Ambrosio Candelaria	Roselio Candelaria	Mrs. E. S. Perkins

* Also owned sheep in Arizona during the sixties.

COCONINO COUNTY

H. E. Campbell*
 T. E. Pollock
 Thos. Sayers*
 Frank Beasley
 T. A. Riordan*
 J. D. Newman*
 W. H. Campbell*
 Harlow Yaeger
 Harry Henderson
 F. W. Perkins
 C. C. Hutchinson
 Capt. P. Smith
 Wm. Tyson
 T. J. Evans
 J. F. Daggs*
 L. G. Smith
 Smith & Evans
 J. C. Moritz
 A. J. Lebaron
 Reimer & May*
 T. F. McMillan*
 Jos. R. Lockett*
 Alex. McDermid
 "Skinney" Welsh
 W. O. Perkins
 D. M. Riordan*

D. M. Francis*
 E. S. Gosney*
 Wm. McIntire
 Babbitt Sheep Co.
 M. J. Riordan*
 E. B. Newman
 H. C. Lockett*
 H. C. Yaeger
 J. W. Rice
 Frank Ebert*
 Dr. E. B. Perrin
 Kilgore & Sterling
 N. S. Bly*
 Perkins & Campbell
 W. A. Daggs*
 N. L. Patterson
 J. Q. Adamson*
 J. H. Sterling
 Geo. Campbell
 J. B. Tappan*
 Harry Melbourne*
 D. S. Lewis*
 Dr. A. J. Dines*
 Geo. H. Wilbur
 J. C. Mudersbach
 Chas. E. Howard*

C. H. Schultz*
 Jos. Dent*
 A. H. Beasley
 F. W. Sisson*
 C. H. Odell
 Geo. Newman
 L. D. Yaeger
 C. T. Woolfolk
 J. C. McGuire
 W. W. Perkins
 Robt. Perrin
 M. Maxwell
 Anton Kline
 John Noble*
 P. P. Daggs*
 Beal & Fulton
 E. T. Smith
 E. E. Ellinwood
 John Hennessy
 Jerid Woodbridge*
 Colin Campbell*
 I. N. Lewis*
 H. J. Gray
 John Clark
 Gus Mudersbach*
 Wm. Hull*

NAVAJO COUNTY

Dan. Mahoney
 Wm. Morgan*
 Jas. Scott
 W. B. Campbell
 Willard Whipple
 Clarence Morrow
 Martin Brochier
 Geo. Sponseller
 Wm. Daggs
 C. L. Long
 Chas. Daze
 Henry Huning
 Sanford Jacques*

Richard Hart
 B. W. Porter
 Sidney Scott
 J. E. Stock
 W. N. Amos
 E. Thomas, Jr.
 J. R. Hulet
 Peter Sponseller
 J. X. Wood*
 J. P. King
 Clarence Owen
 D. J. Daze
 Jos. Sponseller

Jas. Porter*
 Robt. Scott
 Geo. Scott
 Ezra West
 Geo. Amos
 Longmore brothers
 Archibald Cameron
 E. A. Sawyer
 Leo. Wilbank
 Hiram Smith
 Jas. Cart*
 H. H. Scorse*
 John Nelson*

YAVAPAI COUNTY

Bixby & Patterson
 Abshire & Bishop

F. P. Reid
 J. M. Garrett

Jos. I. Roberts
 W. M. Rose

*Also owned sheep in Arizona during the eighties.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Much information contained in the foregoing early history of the sheep industry of Arizona, not previously acknowledged, was obtained in personal interviews and through correspondence from old-time sheepmen. Much help was also rendered in the matter by Mrs. Edith O. Kitt, Secretary of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, and by Jerrie W. Lee, Secretary of the Arizona Wool Growers Association, Phoenix.



RESOURCES OF THE SALT RIVER VALLEY, 1872*

BY JOHN TABER ALSAP

Some time in the latter part of the year 1867 a company was organized in Wickenburg and named the Swilling Irrigating Canal Company for the purpose of digging an irrigating canal near the head of the Salt River Valley in which is now situated the town and settlement of Phoenix. The company was divided into 50 shares which has since been increased to 60 shares. Soon after their organization was completed the company commenced the work of digging their ditch. Their first commencement was at a point about four miles above the mouth of the present ditch but after working some time the company came to the conclusion that it would take too long to complete it and get water where they wanted it on the valley and they abandoned that place and commenced work upon the ditch at present owned and used by the company. The ditch was completed in 1868 and corn crops were raised in the summer of that year the water for irrigation being obtained through that ditch. At that time there was about 30 inhabitants in the Phoenix settlement. 1869 the settlement was increased somewhat in population and about 1,000 acres of land was brought under cultivation. In 1870 about 2,000 acres of land was cultivated and at this time 5,000 acres are under cultivation and the settlement has a population of about 700. The settlement was named Phoenix by the Swilling Company and from the settlement the town of Phoenix, the county seat of Maricopa county, received its name. This site of this town was selected by the inhabitants of the valley and was laid out at their expense. It was surveyed in December 1870 and now bids fair to be a flourishing town.

* This report in the archives of the Secretary of State of Arizona was written in ink in longhand and on foolscap paper. It was found in a bundle of miscellaneous correspondence, dated 1872. It is folded and the signature of Jno. T. Alsap is on the folded portion.

That this whole valley has at some time been densely populated cannot be doubted although neither history tradition or legend gives any account of who the inhabitants were, from whence they came or whither they have gone. The whole valley is dotted with the ruins of ancient towns and buildings. The great canal commonly called the "Motezuma Acequia" intersects the river near the upper end of the valley and runs thence in a northwesterly direction for several miles. It would take but little work to put it in condition to be used as of old although there are trees of a foot in diameter, standing in it. Smaller ditches leading out from it at convenient distances show that it was used for purposes of irrigation and that the whole valley has been under cultivation.

About 50,000 acres of land in this great valley is known to be good for grain growing and double that amount is supposed to be [open to cultivation]. All that is necessary is that water be brought to it for irrigation. Nothing can be raised here without irrigation and with it almost any kind of crop can be raised. On the south side of the river quite a settlement is commenced in addition to that mentioned on the north side. Several ditches are in process of construction and will be completed this season in time for a corn crop.

The principal crops are barley, wheat, corn, sorghum, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes and peanuts. Cotton and tobacco have also been tried successfully but not to any great extent while almost every known garden vegetable can be raised in abundance. The average yield per acre of wheat, barley and corn is about 2,000 lb. per acre. The average price of grain last year was $4\frac{1}{2}$ cts per pound and all that was raised found ready sale. At present grain is worth $5\frac{1}{2}$ cts per pound. No tame hay has yet been cut here to my knowledge but alfalfa does well and I think clover would be a good crop. Sorghum and corn fodder is the principal rough feed for stock and sells for about \$10.00 per ton.

But few experiments in the way of fruit raising have been tried in this valley but in every instance, when tried, have

proved successful. This season a large number of fruit trees of almost every kind have been put out and I have no doubt will prove profitable.

We have no timber in this valley except the cottonwood on the river and the Mesquite on the plains. Of this last we have an abundance for fire wood for years to come but it is fit for nothing else. The cottonwood is not fit for lumber but is extensively used for vegas or joists and rafters for houses. At Bradshaw Mountains 60 miles north of us is an extensive pine forest but there are no sawmills there at present. All of our lumber comes from the region of Prescott and costs about \$140.00 per thousand feet. From the heat of the summers and the high prices of lumber both economy and comfort are consulted by the use of adobe houses and no other kinds are at present used in this vicinity.

The low mountains skirting the valley are covered with excellent grasses and would be good stock range were it not for the danger from the Indians. This danger, of losing them by Indian theft, is so great that few persons keep more stock than they wish to use on their farms and they never turn their stock loose without a herder. Good horses and mules are worth from \$100 to \$200. Milch cows from \$30 to \$100 per yoke. Beef is worth 12½ cts per pound.

We have no machinery of any kind in this valley—not even a flour mill but one is now in process of construction and another is talked of and we hope to be able to eat flour this season made from our own wheat. There is a great want of agricultural machines also. We have not a mower, reaper or header for harvesting our crops nor is there a gang plow or seed sower in the valley. In fact with the exception of two small threshers we have no agricultural machines at all of the improved kind.

Labor on a farm is worth about \$35 per month or \$1.50 per day with board. Mechanics get good wages but we have but few among us. Masons, carpenters and blacksmiths are especially in demand.

Our climate is warm and dry. The principal rainy seasons are in December and January and July and August. The rains are generally light. The thermometer rarely gets

below the freezing point in winter while in the summer it sometimes reaches as high as 112 [degrees] but the heat even at its highest is not as oppressive during the day as in the western states when the thermometer is at 90 [degrees] and we have but few nights in which cover is not required to sleep comfortably. There are no diseases incidental to this climate. I have never known a case of any kind of fever in this valley except when it had been brought here from some where else.

Fort McDowell is about 30 miles from Phoenix and Infantry camp about fifty miles. Two companies of troops are stationed at Ft. McDowell and one at Infantry camp.

A mail stage from Wickenburg to Tucson passes through Phoenix once a week each way. This route affords our only mail facilities at present. Emigrants to this country from the east come some by the El Paso road or by the Albuquerque or 35 parallel route. Both of the roads are good with plenty of water and grass I am told. From California they have their choice of two roads—the San Bernardino *via* La Paz and Wickenburg or the Ft. Yuma route.

Most of the goods and groceries used in this region are brought from San Francisco either by water to Ft. Yuma and thence about 200 miles by land, or overland from Los Angeles 500 miles. Owing to the great length of time usually required to freight by water to Ft. Yuma the greater portion of the goods brought here is freighted overland from Los Angeles at a cost of about 12 cts per pound.

There are flour mercantile houses doing a general merchandise business at Phoenix.

It is a very simple process to get a farm in this vicinity. A man settles on a quarter section and that is as good a title as need want for the present. The lands are all surveyed and can be preempted of which privilege some have availed themselves. But in order to make a farm productive a man must have water for irrigation on it and the getting of water to his land, the ditches generally, is the largest cost of his farm. But once the water is there he has a sure thing for a crop. Dry weather does not affect him—he makes it

rain on his farm whenever he pleases. Improved farms rate at from \$1,000 to \$6,000 in this valley.

The condition of society is such as is usually found in new countries where a large proportion of the population are men without families. But we are steadily improving in this respect. Families are settling here and before long a school will be established. Already the preliminary steps have been taken and soon a school will be commenced under the operation of the new school law. We have preachers here who are doing their duty faithfully in pointing out to sinners the way they should go and everything is now working towards a more perfect civilization than formerly.



RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION THROUGH PRESCOTT

THE PRESCOTT AND ARIZONA CENTRAL RAILROAD

BY LUCILE ANDERSON

The history of Prescott is closely bound up with that of the near-by mines. These mines were responsible for the choice of Prescott as the first territorial capital; their gold, silver, and copper brought wealth to her citizens, and one of these mines, the United Verde, was responsible for the construction of her first railroad.

The United Verde claim was located in 1877. The old prospectors have told many picturesque yarns of the days when it was just a prospect.¹ Eventually it was bought by Governor Frederick A. Tritle, and he started its development. In 1882 F. F. Thomas visited the region and, believing that he saw great possibilities for future development, obtained an option on the mine. He went east for capital and in 1883 he organized the United Verde Copper Company with James A. McDonald as president and Eugene Jerome as secretary and treasurer. He returned to the territory and soon a 50-ton furnace was installed and work begun on a large scale. The town of Jerome was laid out near the mine.

But when copper went down to 7 cents a pound the mine could not meet expenses, especially since freighting to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad by fourteen-mule teams from a mine which could hardly have been in a more inaccessible region had to be included in production costs. At one time the miners threatened to destroy the works because they had not been paid. Even with men of considerable money and

¹ One old prospector claimed to have sold it for a burro; another for a quarter of venison; another for a one-eyed mule; still another for a few plugs of tobacco. From George W. James, *Arizona the Wonderland*, p. 195.

influence in its organization the mining company was in a very difficult position. Something had to be done to lower expenses if the stockholders were to reap the golden harvest they had been led to expect. The most feasible "something" seemed to be a railroad so located as to cheapen transportation on coke and copper bullion. A railroad from the Atlantic and Pacific to Prescott would not be the most satisfactory solution of the problem, but the haul to the proposed road would be only about one third what it then was. Besides it seemed to be the plan most likely to succeed.

It was realized that roads were seldom built by local capital, but the promoters hoped that a local organization might interest eastern capitalists and also obtain beneficial legislation. On May 10, 1884, the Central Arizona Railroad Company was organized at Prescott² largely through the activities of Governor Tritle. This company caused surveys to be made, had the country mapped, and otherwise gathered information which would be of material value in constructing the hoped-for road. In fact it claimed to have expended from \$6,000 to \$8,000 in this work.³ Governor Tritle had donated more than anyone else to this fund, but Bashford, Head, Ellis, Butler, and Buham had also contributed. They hoped, of course, to be reimbursed for these expenditures when the road was built.

The company instigated the railroad meeting held in Prescott, February 26, 1885, in which the subsidy question was discussed.⁴ Company members told that group that a road from Prescott to the Atlantic and Pacific would have at least a \$300,000 business the first year and double that the second. This trade would be in bringing in groceries, provisions, mining machinery, coke, coal, and various other sorts of supplies. It would take out ore, bullion, beef, mutton, wool, and hides. Thus an appeal was made for the support of stockmen and merchants as well as mine operators.

² *History of Arizona Territory with Illustrations*, p. 253.

³ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, June 12, 1885.

⁴ *Weekly Arizona Miner*, February 27, 1885.

Some opposition to railroad legislation was encountered. It was suggested by some that any subsidy bill should leave the question to a vote of the taxpayers since the legislature had no right to impose tax burdens on the people of a county without the consent of the taxpayers.⁵ The members of the Central Arizona Railroad Company opposed having the subsidy granted subject to such a plebiscite. These company members knew that the people had been told that the road was most needed by the owners of mines who required it in order to work their deposits cheaply and expeditiously. The stock raisers, freighters, and farmers had been shown how they could do very nicely without a road even though some of them would derive profit from it.⁶ Everything considered, a popular vote was something to be avoided. On the other hand the company suggested that the road would probably cost \$15,000 per mile while some of it would cost six times as much as the paltry subsidy suggested. Those most interested in railroad construction feared the meeting was not considering a subsidy large enough to influence eastern financiers.

After several hours of heated discussion it was decided that Yavapai legislative members might sponsor a bill in the coming session which would provide a \$4,000 bonus for a standard or \$3,000 for a narrow-gauge road. Influenced perhaps by the Pima difficulty over railroad bonds⁷ the meeting voted that the bill should be drawn so that no bonds should be issued till the proposed road was completed and in active operation.

The territorial legislature of 1885 was referred to by journalists and historians in a variety of ways, most commonly perhaps as the "thieving thirteenth." The charges of extravagance and graft brought against it were not without considerable foundation.⁸ There were at that time twelve members in the council and twenty-four in the house. There were only ten counties at that time, but the northern

⁵ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, January 23, 1885.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ Construction stopped on the Tucson narrow gauge as soon as the bonds were received.

and southern districts each elected a member, making the twelve for the council. When the legislature convened a caucus was held in which seven of the council decided to hold together on all important legislation and to allow nothing that would interfere with their respective interests. The southern district under the control of the Southern Pacific stood for no antirailroad legislation; Yavapai and the northern representatives were pledged to no removal of the capital; Mohave wished anti-Mormon legislation; Yuma came in on no removal of the penitentiary; Cochise wanted no county division; and the other county for a cause not now remembered.⁹ The house was not quite so well controlled. Still as the session continued, favors were handed out in turn to all the counties. To Phoenix was given \$100,000 for an insane asylum; to Tempe, \$5,000 for a normal school; to Yuma generous appropriations for the penitentiary; to Pinal county \$12,000 for a bridge; Pima county wished the capital but was forced to be content with a university; to Yavapai and Maricopa counties was given authorization to grant bonds to railroads.¹⁰

Needless to say not all the citizens of the territory nor all the legislators themselves were happy concerning these moves. However, Governor Tritle was evidently in complete sympathy with the policies of the Thirteenth Legislature. In an address to the twelfth assembly he had said: "The withholding of the use of public money is not always a proper economy. The expenditure made to give the people increased comforts and greater conveniences and which enable them to acquire wealth more rapidly is always proper legislation."¹¹

⁸ " . . . extravagant with funds collected and to be collected, still it was for public institutions and much needed reforms. They were cursed by the press yet later generations have been able to soften their recklessness by the splendid, far reaching results which they obtained." R. E. Sloan, *History of Arizona*, Vol. II, p. 48.

⁹ James, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹¹ *Arizona Journal-Miner*, March 11, 1886.

Governor Tritle also showed his approval of the north and south railroad legislation when in 1885 he wrote:

I would suggest for the consideration of Congress that the government aid in the construction of these roads by granting to the companies constructing them such of the public lands as are available for this purpose within reasonable boundary limits along the lines proposed. . . .¹²

Mr. Ainsworth, president of the council, introduced bill Number 81, an "act to aid in the construction of a railroad in Yavapai County," and it was passed March 12, the final day of the session.

This act required that payment be made at the rate of \$3,000 per mile for a narrow-gauge road of not less gauge than 36 inches or at the rate of \$4,000 per mile for a standard-gauge road. The bonds would bear 7 per cent interest and would run for thirty years. The road must be completed to Prescott by January 1, 1887, although the company could take its own time from there on south.

This act provided that any person or corporation who had completed 10 miles of this road should apply to the Board of Supervisors for the county bonds. After the board had inspected the completed unit, it was to issue and deliver the bonds with the exception of \$1,000 per mile which was to be retained until the city of Prescott was reached.¹³ Thus the desires of Yavapai taxpayers as suggested in the railroad meeting were partially complied with. And whenever and as often as 10 miles more along the route were completed these proceedings were to be duplicated.

Because the Central Arizona Railroad Company had maps worked out for a road so routed as best to serve the interests of its members, the subsidy act rather definitely described the route to be followed:

Commencing at a point on the line of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway at or near Chino station in said Yavapai County, Arizona Territory, and running thence by the most practicable route to the city of Prescott in said county, thence south from the city of Prescott by the most prac-

¹² F. A. Tritle, *Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior*, 1885, p. 18.

¹³ Arizona Session Laws of the 13th Legislative Assembly, 1885, Act. 81, Sec. 81, p. 195.

ticable route, crossing the Hassayampa River, as near as practicable, or by the head of Turkey Creek and Battle Flat. . . .¹⁴

The description of this route shows that the framers of the act planned that this road should join the Maricopa County road, also provided for by the Thirteenth Legislature at the county line, thus forming a continuous road from Prescott to Phoenix. It also indicates that company members were interested in mines southwest of Prescott.

Those interested in railroad construction in Maricopa County were divided into two rival camps. One company had been formed with the approval of the Southern Pacific Company which wished county aid in the construction of a road from Phoenix south to Maricopa, located on the main line of the Southern Pacific. Another group favored building north from Phoenix to join the Yavapai County line which was to be built south through Prescott from the Atlantic and Pacific.

The legislative members from Maricopa County were also divided in their allegiance. Representative Porter worked for the Maricopa and Phoenix road. Representative Armstrong seems to have wavered between the two plans while Councilman Todd worked consistently with the Yavapai members for the subsidy which would make possible a railroad connecting the two county-seat towns. It was he who introduced an "act to aid in the construction of a certain railroad in Maricopa county." This bill provided for a \$3,000-per-mile subsidy for a standard gauge road to the northern boundary of Maricopa somewhere in the vicinity of Wickenburg along the most practicable route.

DeForest Porter gained possession of this bill because his constituents were opposed to it.¹⁵ He created a scene in the house by refusing to produce it. Then he absented himself from the house while the battle raged. As the last day of the session had arrived the doorkeeper was sent to bring Mr. Porter before the bar of the house but that gentleman soon reported that the representative from Maricopa was too ill

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Sec. 2, p. 195.

¹⁵ James H. McClintock, *Arizona the Youngest State*, Vol. II, p. 334.

to attend.¹⁶ As the bill could not be located a substitute measure was rushed through both council and house in the closing hours of the session.

Porter had been largely instrumental in pushing through an "act to aid in the construction of a certain railroad between the city of Phoenix and the Southern Pacific Railroad."¹⁷ This act was not subject to a referendum of the county taxpayers as was the other Maricopa County bill mentioned above. Though it contained a time limit for the completion of the road it provided liberally for exemptions of time caused by delays, should the United States government be slow in granting permission to cross the Indian reservations or should suits started in the county delay construction. Then, as the lobby back of this bill were afraid that the county supervisors might not carry out their part in the transaction, a supplementary act was rushed through on the final day of the session providing for a board of railroad commissioners authorized to act for the county supervisors in case they procrastinated too long.¹⁸ The Maricopa and Phoenix company, which later proved to be dominated by the Southern Pacific had succeeded in procuring what seemed to be fool-proof legislation.

It was not only the fact that they favored the Maricopa and Phoenix road which led the Southern Pacific interests to oppose the subsidizing of a road north from Phoenix. They had no wish to be brought into competition with the Atlantic and Pacific. Before the legislature met, the people in southern Maricopa County were told by newspapers friendly to the organization planning to build south that a railroad north was entirely out of the question. Ten thousand dollars a mile or \$2,000,000 would not be sufficient to build it, to say nothing of the rolling stock and cost of maintenance.¹⁹ The people were further asked to believe

¹⁶ *Arizona Journal of the 13th Legislative Assembly*, 1885, March 12, p. 961.

¹⁷ This act carried a \$200,000 subsidy to a specified company.

¹⁸ *Arizona Session Laws of the 13th Legislative Assembly*, 1885, Act. 78, Sec. 1, p. 184.

¹⁹ *Weekly Phoenix Miner*, February 12, 1885.

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that one freight train in three months could easily carry all the freight in and out that could be used or produced in the entire section. A local road built through such a barren, mountainous country would never pay. The people of Maricopa should not be led astray by such a visionary scheme but should work for a road to the Southern Pacific and so gain a road that would do them some good.

Since the advocates of the road north were promising that their road would bring lower freight rates to the Salt River Valley, President Crocker announced a cut in fares and freight rates on the Southern Pacific. Then he promised that his company would again go into the matter of freights and rates in so far as the Salt River Valley and Maricopa County were concerned. By July he was able to announce a 20 per cent reduction on all freight from San Francisco to Maricopa, Tucson, and Benson.²⁰

Of the three bills under discussion—a road to Yavapai from the Atlantic and Pacific south to the county line, a road from Maricopa to Phoenix, and a road from Phoenix to the northern line of Maricopa County—that for the road from Phoenix to the northern Maricopa line was the only one which provided that the bonds could not be issued without the consent of the people expressed in a special election. The Board of Supervisors were to call the special election within ninety days after the passage of the act. In the notice of the election the people were to be told the exact amount of the bonds and the terms under which they would be issued.²¹ But the opponents of the bill—that is, those interested in building south—were afraid to trust the question to a vote of the people. As one newspaper editorial put it: "Whenever a group of citizens are about evenly divided, and a third party is really interested, a little graft puts it over. And anyway voting is not fair since it allows the riff-raff to decide the question!"²² The supervisors were persuaded not to call an election within the ninety days stipu-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1885.

²¹ Arizona Session Laws of the 13th Legislative Assembly, 1885, Act 96, Sec. 9, p. 264.

²² *Weekly Phoenix Miner*, February 12, 1885.

lated in the act, and so the proposition was retired to the background for some four years. Then it was brought forward in an attempt to show Congress why a railroad subsidy in Maricopa County would not be affected by the Harrison Act.²³ This act was, to quote its official title, "an act to prohibit the passage of local or special laws in the territory of the United States to limit territorial indebtedness and for other purposes."

Although a group of home speculators were nursing the scheme it was understood that local capital could not construct the road. Several companies were rumored to be considering the proposition, but by June the field had narrowed down to two groups of capitalists who seem to have divided the support of Yavapai citizens rather evenly.

One group was known as the Minneapolis syndicate. Wilson and Hamilton, wealthy Minnesota men, came to Prescott early in June of 1885 to inspect the country for the railroad.²⁴ N. C. Murphy and Dr. F. K. Ainsworth met them at the railroad and escorted them to Prescott. A company, the Arizona Central, was organized with a capital of \$3,300,000 to build a railroad 120 miles in length.²⁵ This group planned to construct a narrow gauge road, and they also planned on a branch to Jerome. Many objected to this plan because it would necessitate reloading of freight before it could be shipped over the standard gauge tracks of the Atlantic and Pacific. Within a week a second company was organized, the Central Arizona, with a capital of \$1,875,000.²⁶ This group came out strong for a standard gauge, and it backed T. S. Bullock who in turn was backed by New York capitalists. This group was sometimes referred to as the New York syndicate. By way of strengthening his posi-

²³ United States Revised Statutes, 1889.

²⁴ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, June 5, 1885.

²⁵ The incorporators and directors were Major C. M. Wilson and George F. Hamilton of Minneapolis; N. O. Murphy, H. M. Van Armen, F. K. Ainsworth, N. Ellis, Calwater, Beas, and Carpenter of Prescott. *Prescott Weekly Courier*, June 12, 1885.

²⁶ This road had on its board of directors C. P. Head, L. Bashford, H. Richards, A. Eaff, C. W. Beard, A. J. Butler, and W. N. Kelly.

tion Bullock at once put some twenty men to work on construction. He offered the old Arizona Central Company \$5,000 in first mortgage bonds for its maps, books, and other supplies, but the offer was rejected as insufficient. As some of the original company favored the Minneapolis and some the New York group it was decided that these aids should be made accessible for purposes of information to any earnest company who would in good faith commence the construction of a road, suggesting, however, that when the first 10 miles was completed the builders could if they saw fit pay the original company what had been expended.²⁷ Bullock claimed that he had never been able to use these helps as it had been a matter of "first come, first served," with the Minneapolis group.

Wilson and Hamilton also had a group in the field working on a survey. Soon they were ready to file a profile of the first 10 miles but were informed that this was not permissible until 20 miles of survey were completed. Meanwhile Bullock's men were complaining that this group of rival workmen were deliberately zigzagging a course back and forth across their line of construction to such extent as to seriously impede progress. They even went so far as to ask to be supplied with guns and ammunition with which to drive away these tormentors.²⁸ Throughout the struggle Bullock had the advantage of the backing of the Atlantic and Pacific people.

Meanwhile the struggle between the two companies for the right to build this particular 70 miles of road had attracted the attention of transcontinental railway companies of the east. Officials in these companies decided that there must be enough profit in the road for both the promoters of the road and themselves. They planned to get their share by increasing freight rates on supplies needed in the construction of the new road. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Company had promised some two years before to haul iron and other necessary supplies at a very low rate.

²⁷ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, June 12, 1885.

²⁸ *Arizona Weekly Miner*, July 3, 1885.

Since that time it had gone into a pool and rates had been raised. Officials of the Santa Fe Company explained that owing to their agreements with other roads they were barred from giving the projectors of the proposed Prescott branch the lower rates. The question was a serious one as it made a difference of at least \$100,000 in the cost of the road.²⁹ They "advised" Bullock to unite with his opponents. On July 16 Colonel Nutt of the Atlantic and Pacific notified Governor Tritle that the consolidation of the Bullock and Minnesota syndicates had actually taken place.³⁰ Whatever the nature of this consolidation may have been the names of the Minneapolis capitalists do not appear again in the story.

Some difficulty was experienced before the new organization could reach an agreement with the railroad companies of Prescott. At last in November the board of the Arizona Central was reorganized. Ellis, Carpenter, and Murphy resigned, while Tritle, Butler, and Kelly were elected to fill their places.³¹ The new board of directors proceeded immediately to acquire all right of way to which they were entitled by law from the United States and from the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company.

Bullock³² bound himself to complete the first 10 miles by May 1, 1886, and to be in Prescott January 1, 1887. In return the company was to issue and deliver to him \$775,000 in first mortgage bonds, \$775,000 in second mortgage income bonds, thirty-three thousand shares of the entire capital stock, and a contract to deliver to him when received by the company \$4,000 per mile of the bonds of Yavapai

²⁹ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, September 11, 1885.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, July 17, 1885.

³¹ *Ibid.*, November 27, 1885.

³² Thomas Seaman Bullock came to Arizona from Indiana as a mining prospector. He became a railroad builder and received financial backing from Seligman and Company, a banking firm in New York City. He was only thirty-two at the time he built the Prescott and Arizona Central. He later built the Monterey and Mexican Gulf Railway and several others. Considered by some to be a fly-by-night promoter, yet the majority of Prescott's citizens seemed to have felt that he never had a square deal.

County.³³ At the annual meeting of the stockholders held November 5, 1886, of the thirty-three thousand shares Bullock represented thirty thousand one hundred.

Opposition over freight rates lasted so long that Prescott citizens began to wonder if the Santa Fe wished to build the road itself; if so they were ready to grant them the subsidy. A committee was chosen to go to Topeka, or if necessary to Boston, to find out what the difficulty that stood in the way of construction really was. However the trouble was ironed out with the assistance of President Nutt of the Atlantic and Pacific. The Santa Fe and other transcontinental companies agreed to take mortgage bonds in payment of charges for freight over their roads on the condition that the capital stock be reduced from thirty-three thousand to twelve thousand shares.³⁴ This reduction was voted at once by the Arizona Central Company.

E. M. Jerome, secretary and treasurer of the United Verde Copper Company, was elected president of the new company. The vice president was ex-Governor Tritle who had resigned his political office when a Democratic administration came into power in Washington. After his resignation he engaged himself in assisting to negotiate the county and railroad bonds. His acquaintanceship with such men as General Strong, President of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe; General Winslow, President of the St. Louis and San Francisco; and Colonel H. C. Nutt, President of the Atlantic and Pacific, with whom Tritle had once carried on a land business in Des Moines, Iowa, made him of considerable assistance.³⁵

³³ *Arizona Journal-Miner*, November 6, 1886.

³⁴ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, November 12, 1886.

³⁵ The board of directors included E. Bashford, Prescott merchant; W. E. Hazeltine, Cashier of the Bank of Arizona where the finances of the road were handled and a man personally identified with the mining interests of the region; Governor Tritle; E. M. Jerome of New York City; W. N. Kelly and F. J. Butler, businessmen of Prescott; George Manchester of Boston, representing the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe; Colonel Nutt, representing the Atlantic and Pacific; and Edgar Smith of Williams, Arizona, representing the St. Louis and South Eastern.

Railroad construction did not begin until well into July, 1886. Bullock, assisted by company members, exerted his best efforts toward consummating arrangements for its construction. W. N. Kelly and other company members had been able to iron out the major difficulties growing out of the struggle between the two groups for control, but two obstacles to progress remained.

One was the opposition, some secret, some open, of certain ranchmen who had become wealthy, or hoped to do so, by utilizing the resources of the country. These cattlemen feared that the railroad would bring in settlers. They knew that these settlers would take up the fertile valley lands first; that they would confine the springs and inclose the pastures;³⁶ and that they would, no doubt, fence their lands with barbed wire, a type of fencing that was just becoming popular and which the ranchmen still considered a dangerous nuisance which should be legislated out of existence.

The second and greater obstacle was that there had been a falling off of confidence in territorial bonds in the eastern money markets. This led, of course, to some difficulty in arranging the finances of the new road since these finances were to come from the sale of county and railroad bonds to eastern capitalists. Upon the electoral victory of the Democrats in 1885, Governor Tritle resigned and a Democratic governor, Zulick, was appointed by Cleveland for the territory. Arriving as he did when the stories of the Thirteenth Legislature's freehanded appropriations of funds collected and funds hoped for were still common topics of conversation and of unfavorable press criticism, it is not surprising that Governor Zulick accused the preceding administration with reckless extravagance. He reported that taxes were excessively high in the territory and that the debt had been unwisely increased by special legislation.

The calling of the attention of Congress to the situation brought about the Harrison inquiry into territorial finances, and the attention of the Associated Press was directed to the

³⁶ *Prescott Weekly Courier*, December 17, 1886.

alleged condition of bankruptcy existing in the territory.³⁷ Territorial bonds which had been in demand at a premium were no longer desired by investors, even at a considerable discount.

It was at this time that the Harrison Act limiting territorial indebtedness and forbidding special legislation in territorial legislatures was passed. Although the Harrison Act was in later years the basis for a great deal of contention over the validity of these bonds, at this time no one seems to have seriously questioned the validity of the Yavapai bond issue. However some Democratic papers did suggest that Congress intervene and annul acts of the Thirteenth Legislature whereby the expenses of the territorial government were increased without adequate benefits.

The difficulties caused by this unpleasant publicity had the effect of drawing the various groups in Prescott more closely together. Citizens there had decided that the Prescott and Arizona Central was their only hope for a railroad, and so they wished to do all in their power to arouse confidence in the county bonds. A large number of citizens issued a formal, signed statement to the railroad company on the twenty-eighth of November, 1885, in which they pledged themselves to purchase county bonds at least to the value of \$75,000, and they attached affidavits that they were respectively worth twice the amount of the value of the bonds which they promised to purchase. To this they further added certified copies of their respective assessments. They promised to place no obstacles in the way of the Board of Supervisors in the issuance of the bonds. Then in an effort to still further intensify their conviction that the bonds were good investments for outsiders, they added the following pledge to the statement:

That we will by our moral suasion and personal influence at all times, uphold and maintain the said bonds, issued under said act, and the legality thereof, and of their issuance, and of the right of the railroad company to have and receive the same.³⁸

³⁷ *Arizona Journal-Miner*, November 11, 1886.

³⁸ Wilson Papers.

General Manager, D. B. Robinson, of the Atlantic and Pacific announced that Prescott Junction, 10 miles east of Chino Station, would be opened as a regular billing station on July 12, 1886. Actual construction began in a few days. By November first the fourth 10-mile section had been completed, accepted, and the bonds issued.

Between August 4, 1886, and December 31, 1886, the county of Yavapai issued 292 bonds of the par value of \$292,000 payable to the Prescott and Arizona Central Railway Company.³⁹ These bonds were taken east. There, backed by the unqualified endorsement of the group which would ultimately have to pay them, they were sold for a valuable consideration. Two hundred and three bonds were purchased by Kitchen and Company of New York City, who received interest on the same regularly until January 1, 1894.

After the construction work had begun Bullock stated that he could not complete the road unless Prescott citizens would buy up a considerable number of first mortgage bonds at par. The opposition claimed that Bullock had demanded the purchase of \$50,000 in bonds and later they stated that over \$45,000 was actually contributed in bonds and services. His friends insisted however that Bullock received only \$17,000 from this source. By 1889 these bonds could have been purchased from the original investors for 40 cents on the dollar. The road did issue its own bonds to the amount of \$750,000. These were floated but a second issue of the same amount was never realized on.⁴⁰

The iron used on the road was much lighter than that used by the main roads. Much of it was second-hand material purchased from the Atlantic and Pacific. That company had purchased it to use for side tracks but had found

³⁹ Dates of bond issues, from *Arizona Report of State Treasurer*, 1922, p. 114:

Aug. 4, 1886	\$30,000	Dec. 1, 1886	\$30,000
Sept. 20, 1886	30,000	Dec. 14, 1886	30,000
Oct. 11, 1886	30,000	Dec. 24, 1886	30,000
Nov. 4, 1886	30,000	Dec. 31, 1886	82,000

⁴⁰ McClintock, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 300.

it too light and had replaced it by heavier iron. Fewer ties (about one fourth) were used than on the trunk-line roads.⁴¹ The rolling stock was antique, and the major portion of it was only leased from other companies. However, though the road was not first class it compared very favorably with the contemporary branch lines of its time.⁴²

A few days before the road was to be completed the two locomotives of the company were disabled by unknown vandals. The *Trittle* had her pipes blown out and the *Hassayampa* had oil poured on her cab and was then set on fire.⁴³ All of her woodwork was burned. This left Mr. Bullock without any engine, the work of construction was stopped and the mails delayed. But for this the road would have been completed several days earlier. An engine was borrowed from the Atlantic and Pacific to complete construction and draw the first train into Prescott.

The road was completed by January 1, 1887. Governor Zulick drove the last spike, gilded for the occasion, into the final tie, which was painted with stripes of red and white in honor of the gala day. Civic societies, the troops from Fort Whipple, fire companies, and all the citizens for miles around gathered to give the largest celebration ever witnessed to date in Prescott. The honorable Sumer Howard, Governor Zulick, and several others spoke. Bullock when called upon for a speech said briefly that he had promised them a railroad, and now they had it!

By the close of February the station agent at Prescott was able to report an average daily shipment of one load of freight and an average daily arrival of two carloads.

The completion of the road was accompanied by a mining boom in the various mining regions in Yavapai. Naturally those interested in mines south of Prescott wished the railroad advantages extended to them. However by the terms of the act of 1885 the builder was given the privilege of choosing his own time to continue on south. In 1887 and again in 1889 Bullock petitioned the legislative assembly

⁴¹ *Prescott Morning Courier*, October 9, 1890.

⁴² Judge Pattee in interview.

⁴³ *Arizona Champion*, January 1, 1887.

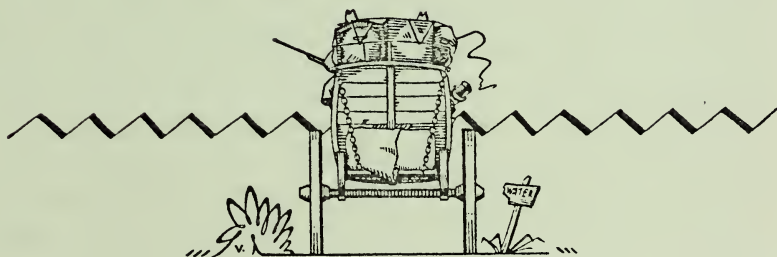
for the right to change the plans for the proposed road so as to follow the Black Canyon route. He claimed the route outlined in the act was impractical as it traversed a country over which construction would be very expensive. He also tried to show that a Black Canyon road would serve more mining regions than would one built down the Hassayampa. The interests who favored the original plan were strong enough to prevent these petitions from having any influence.

In 1889 Superintendent Jones of the Prescott and Arizona Central stated that an estimate had been made showing that it would cost from \$20,000 to \$70,000 per mile or about \$475,000 to build the first 13 miles on the proposed route. Opponents of the company declared that the engineer, J. W. Robinette, had spent all of three days on the survey which he had made from a buckboard. Further they stated that the one most expensive mile on the Atlantic and Pacific, a road that had been notoriously difficult of construction, had cost only \$75,000, and it had included tunnel construction. These opponents were sure that \$10,000 a mile would be a very liberal estimate of costs.

Bullock had by this time become engaged in the construction of the Monterey and Mexican Gulf Railway and this may explain in part his lack of interest toward a continuing of the Prescott road.

The need for cheaper transportation for the United Verde Mine had led to the organization of the Central Arizona Railroad Company, purely local in its membership. This company exerted the pressure which caused the thirteenth legislative assembly to grant a liberal subsidy for the construction of a railroad from the Atlantic and Pacific to Prescott and from there on south to the county line. This subsidy was the direct cause for the organization of a new railroad company, the Prescott and Arizona Central, in which Bullock was the chief shareholder. While Bullock built the desired road as far as Prescott he was able to accomplish this because those interested in the United Verde and other mines gave him their wholehearted support. Among other things they helped him to dispose of the county subsidy bonds on favorable terms.

Indirectly, by opening the country around Prescott to investment, the Prescott and Arizona Central had caused the development of a powerful mining company which in the fuller development of its interests, a development which the company considered as requiring control of a railroad south from Prescott to Phoenix, was to bring ruin to Prescott's first railroad. This ruin was so complete that by the late nineties all that remained of the Prescott and Arizona Central was a washed and weed-grown roadbed.



THE CAMP GRANT MASSACRE

REMINISCENCES OF ANDREW HAYS CARGILL, 1907

Camp Grant, Arizona, located at the junction of the San Pedro River and Aravaipa Creek, 70 miles from Tucson, was a post of some importance in the early Apache warfare and at times was garrisoned by four or five companies of troops. It was there I first met John G. Bourke, Ross, and Brodie, lieutenants fresh from West Point. Early in 1870 Brig. Gen. George Crook then commanding in Arizona had withdrawn all but fourteen men from Camp Grant for his campaign. He left Lt. Col. Royal E. Whitman, Captain of Company H, 3rd Cavalry, in command with the fourteen men.

In November, 1870, I was again at the post on one of my trips to audit the books of the sutler's store which belonged to Lord and Williams; Fred Austin, Dr. Lord's brother-in-law, was in charge. While there I roomed with Colonel Whitman. One morning when Colonel Whitman and myself were taking our smoke after breakfast Maria Jilda, the scout and interpreter, came and said that the Indians were sending up smoke in the mountains indicating that they wanted to come in and talk. The Colonel told him to answer it and tell them to come. About noon Eskimenzine Delshay and three other chiefs arrived and were taken into a large room, and after seating themselves around the room they were given tobacco and paper and all began to smoke. After this had continued for some fifteen minutes, Eskimenzine rose and turning to Colonel Whitman spoke somewhat as follows (Maria Jilda interpreting from time to time):

I am a chief and have command of 1,500 warriors belonging to the Pinal and Aravaipa Apaches. For many years we have lived here and roamed over these hills and valleys hunting and gathering mesquite beans, mescal and sahuaro, and raising a little corn and melons. When the white men first came here, we received them as friends and for a long time our people attended to the stock of the express line and lived with them at peace. Then soldiers came and one time they unjustly hung

some of our Indians whom they had asked to come into their camp and eat. Among them was the brother of our head chief, Cochise. Up to that time we had no enemies but the Papagos and the Mexicans. Cochise then declared war against all white men and we have been fighting ever since. The White Father who lives at Washington has sent thousands of soldiers against us and chased us all over this country until now we have no safe place in all the land.

I and my people are tired of war and we want to come in and make peace. And we want to raise cattle and corn and live like your people do. Our women and children are worn out roaming from one place to another. This is what we came to talk about.

He was the finest specimen of an Indian I have ever seen, and I have met a good many.

The other chiefs spoke to the same effect.

Colonel Whitman told them he was glad that they came in, that the White Father could send many more soldiers against them, and that it was foolish to try to fight with him, that he had no authority to make a peace treaty with them, as he was only an officer of the army, but if they were sincere in wanting to live at peace hereafter and would bring in their people to the post and surrender as prisoners of war, giving up all their arms, he would locate them on the military reservation about 3 miles below them where there was plenty of shade and water, and would issue them one half a ration every day. He would also write to the White Father, telling him what they had said, and he would send out someone to make peace with them.

After more talk they agreed to the terms, and Eskimenzine went outside and returned with a stone and said: "I and my chiefs have faith in you, you have spoken to us like men and not like dogs," and laying down the stone in front of the colonel, he continued, "I will bring my people in here to you and so long as this stone shall last, so long will I keep the peace with you and your people."

The next day they came in, men, women and children, and as they filed by the colonel at the quartermaster's storehouse, each one deposited his rifles, guns, bows and arrows, war clubs, etc. Colonel Whitman and myself stood there and saw that they retained only their knives. They were then taken down 3 miles below the post, still on the reserva-

tion, counted and enrolled by families, and one-half ration was issued as follows:

The head of the family with his wives and children were called forward, counted, and the head man received the rations for all. Then the next and so on. No one was allowed to leave the line until all were counted and rations issued, so that we knew every day just how many were present.

Colonel Whitman wrote to Washington through the regular channels, and in due course received orders relieving him from military duty and appointing him special Indian agent, instructing him to continue the issue of rations until a commissioner could be sent to arrange a peace and a reservation for them.

To show that they had laws of their own among them, I would here relate an incident that took place in December. We were down issuing rations and counting them, when suddenly there was a commotion in the line and then the two tribes separated like a flash and took up positions opposite each other. The chiefs were talking. So the colonel rode between them and called the chiefs to him and asked what was the matter. He was told that they had just heard that one of the Aravaipas had killed a Pinal and fled. And the Pinals wanted to fight and take reparation. The colonel told Eskimenzine there could be no fighting and to tell them to wait and talk to him.

When quiet was somewhat restored, Eskimenzine explained the law of the tribes: "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." And as the murderer had escaped the Pinals were entitled to kill one of his family or fight his tribe. The colonel found that the only relative of the murdered man was an old Indian about sixty, and he offered to buy a whole beef for him. The relative was willing but Eskimenzine said that it would only postpone the trouble, that the Aravaipas themselves must make reparations in order to satisfy the Pinals.

Finally we found that there was another way to settle it—namely, that the Aravaipas agree to give to the old man everything they had in the world and go forth naked. After

a good deal of talk, they agreed. So all the Aravaipa men, women, and children marched by and stripped themselves to their breech cloths, giving up all their clothes, baskets, etc.

It was quite cold and seemed almost inhuman to turn them out without even a blanket to sleep with. But they stuck it out. So the colonel evolved a plan. Fred Austin had the hay contract for the post, the hay being brought in by Mexicans. It was arranged to let the Aravaipa women cut and bring in the hay, for which they were given tickets to trade for anything at the sutler's store except arms, ammunition, or liquor. Thus in a month or so they were able to buy clothes and blankets.

Matters went on very smoothly until the first day of May, 1871. One morning we had not finished our coffee when Maria Jilda came and said he thought there was something wrong as he had not seen an Indian nor any smoke from their camp. We mounted at once and rode down to find 86 women and children and one very old man killed. No live Indians were about, so we buried the bodies before leaving the scene. We knew at once that it had been done by parties from Tucson. The Indians sent up another smoke that afternoon, saying they would come and talk. We answered it, and the same five chiefs came in. After the usual smoke, Eskimenzine spoke:

Last fall we came in and surrendered to you giving up all our arms as you said we must and made a peace with you, giving you a stone to show we would keep it. Last night, white men, Mexicans, and Papago Indians came and attacked us; we had no arms. The men ran to the hills taking such women and children that they could. I have lost two wives and two children. The others have also lost their people. You said you would protect us. I know you had nothing to do with this for we saw you bury our dead. We have come in now to ask you what we shall do.

The colonel told them he knew nothing about it but that as they had surrendered to the government and were on a government reserve, it was murder and a violation of the White Father, that he would write and see that the offenders were punished. He asked them to come back and camp at

the post on the river, saying that he had only fourteen men but plenty of guns and ammunition, and that they should put out guards and if it was ever attempted again he would arm and lead them himself in defense.

Eskimenzine said, "I do not expect ever to see any of them punished, for they will never punish a white man for killing an Indian, but I do ask you to get back fourteen of our children that they have taken captive."

They came in again and camped on the river. The colonel wrote a letter to the department at Washington, and the district attorney was ordered from California to take proceedings to punish the perpetrators.

In the meantime the people in Tucson, with the help of Governor A. P. K. Safford, trumped up a charge against Colonel Whitman of having been under the influence of liquor three years before at the time he entered the territory. He was relieved and brought before a court martial; inside of two months the new agent had driven the Indians out on the warpath again. Whitman was acquitted and ordered back to the post, for he could and did get the Indians in again.

I was back in Tucson when the United States district attorney came out. I had known him before and asked him to share our quarters, which he did. When the grand jury was drawn, I was on it and was made secretary and Charles Hayden was made foreman. The district attorney tried every way to get an indictment, but it was no use, so he telegraphed to Attorney General Ackerman. One evening when we came back from supper he said to me: "There was once a district attorney who was staying with a friend. He went out, left a secret telegram from the attorney general on the table." With that he placed the telegram on the table and left. I took it for granted that I was to read it and did so. It said, "If you cannot indict in three days telegraph—we declare martial law and trial by court martial." I knew that meant sure conviction, as the feeling was very strong among the army people and the evidence was perfect. We knew who the five white men and the twenty Mexicans were, but we had to guess concerning the Papagos.

So the next day after the attorney had failed to get any action, I asked him to leave the room, and I addressed the jury. I told them that if they indicted the parties, they knew there was no jury that would convict them, but if they did not martial law would probably be proclaimed and they would be tried by court martial. I finally got them to agree to indict them, and the district attorney and myself sat up most of the night drawing up the papers—five white men and twenty Mexicans whose names we knew and seventy-five Papagos by fictitious names. The next day the grand jury adjourned and in an hour it was known that I was the cause of the indictment.

The district attorney and myself were burned in effigy that night, and I was compelled to resign my position with Lord and Williams as they said the feeling was so strong they would lose business by keeping me. So then I became clerk for the district attorney.

One day he came to me and said: "Cargill, I guess I must change my quarters, I don't want to get you into any trouble, but I have got a notice to quit town in twenty-four hours."

I told him he need not change for I had received the same notice. So I said to leave it to me. I went that night and called on Colonel Misner, the commander of the post at Camp Lowell (Tucson) and told him or rather showed him the notices. Of course he was furious at the idea of the United States district attorney being ordered to leave. I had a Mexican boy that took care of my rooms and ran errands for me and the colonel knew it. He said, "Any time anyone interferes with the district attorney or yourself send me word by Alijemoro and I will wipe Tucson off the map." In the meantime he detailed a number of soldiers to mingle among the people and keep an eye on us.

Grant Oury and Hiram Stevens were elected delegates to congress; Sidney DeLong was made Register [*sic.*] of the Land Office. I could get no employment so finally had to go back to California. But before I left Vincent Collier was sent out. He called the Indians into his prayer meetings but did nothing but go back to Washington and make a report. Then Genl. O. O. Howard was sent out, who sent

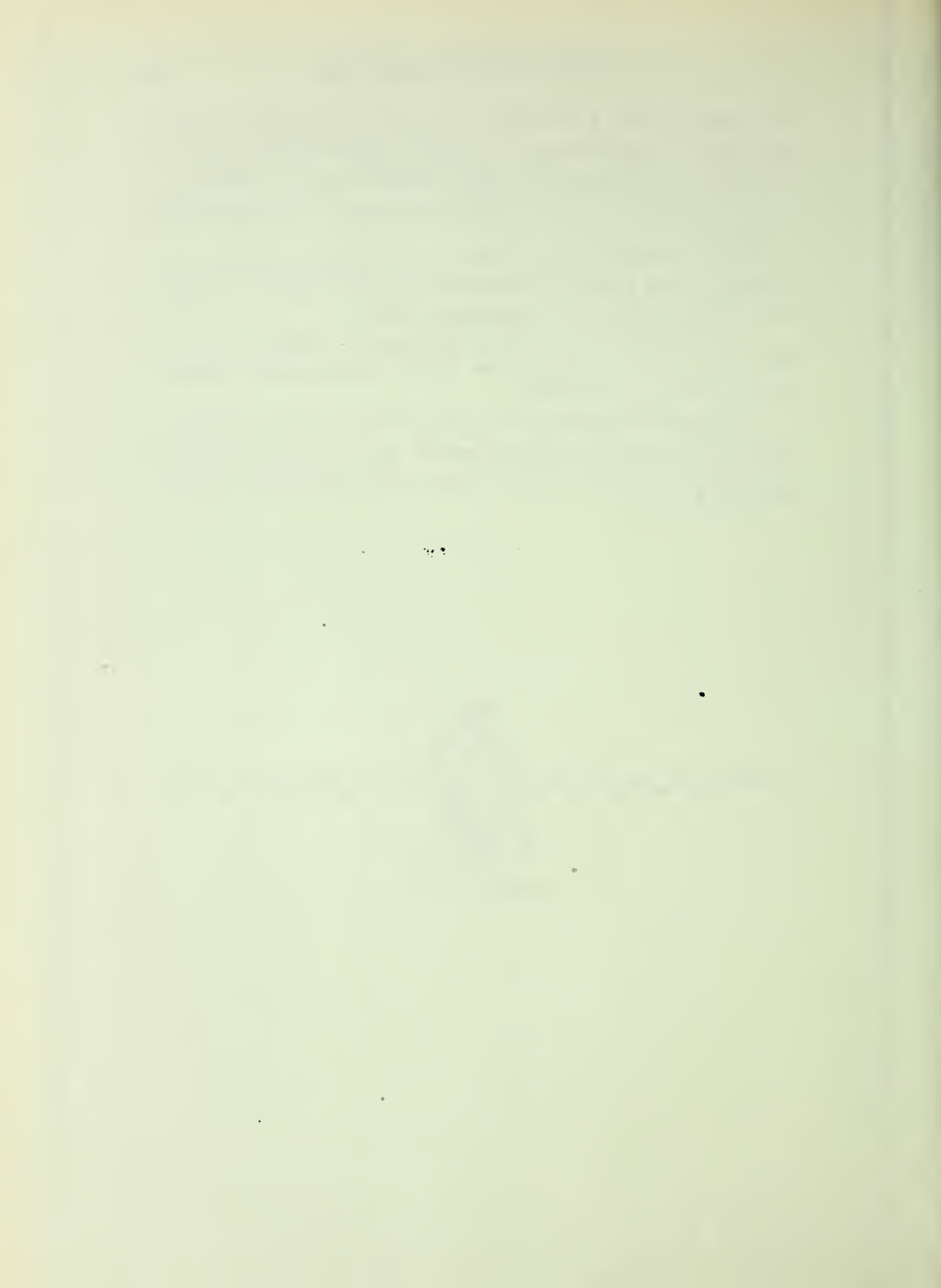
for me at Camp Crittenden. I came to Tucson, met him, and had a long interview. Then he asked me to bring the Papagos, Maricopas, and Pima Indians into the peace congress at Grant. Captain Jefford was to get the Apaches and Cochise' band.

The congress was held and peace made with them all. Apaches were given the reservation which they now occupy, and Eskimenzine was made head chief.

The last time I saw Sidney DeLong in 1909, he told me the only thing he regretted in his life was that he took part in the Camp Grant affair.

It afterwards came out that the governor and his adjutant general were parties to the massacre as the adjutant general furnished a wagon load of arms and ammunition for the Papago Indians.





THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS OF ARIZONA

JOHN CHARLES FREMONT

BY EUGENE E. WILLIAMS

During the French Revolution a native of Lyons was making a voyage to St. Domingo. When nearing his destination the ship was attacked by an English man-of-war, and the Frenchman was made a prisoner. He was placed in prison but effected his escape and found his way to Norfolk, Virginia. Here he met Miss Anne Beverley Whiting, daughter of Thomas Whiting of Gloucester County, Virginia, whom he married.

Traveling over the country the couple made a temporary stop at Savannah, Georgia, where their son was born, January 21, 1813. The son was given the name of his father, John Charles Fremont. Five years later the father died and the son was left in the care of his mother and her friends.

While a boy he entered the law office of John W. Mitchell in Charleston, South Carolina. Mr. Mitchell assisted young Fremont with his studies and then secured the service of John Robertson of whom Fremont wrote:

At sixteen I was a good scholar. My teacher, who became my friend as well, was a Scotch gentleman who had been educated at Edinburg [*sic.*]; he was thoroughly imbued with classic learning, and lived an inner life among the Greeks and Latins. Under his enthusiastic instruction I became fond as himself of the dead languages, and to me also they became replete with living images.

At the age of sixteen John Charles was confirmed in the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which his mother was a member, and in which relationship he remained throughout his eventful life.

About this time he became a student at Charleston College, but an infatuation for a West Indian girl caused him to neglect his studies, and after repeated reprimands he was

expelled. Later the college relented and conferred upon him the degrees of B. A. and M. A.

In 1833 he received the appointment of teacher of mathematics on the sloop-of-war *Natchez*. This position he held for two years previously to becoming professor of mathematics in the U. S. Navy.

Returning to Charleston he was commissioned in 1838 a second lieutenant in the U. S. Topographical Corps of Engineers and assisted in surveying the country between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. This was the beginning of a career which resulted in his being known as The Pathfinder.

When the question of holding Oregon for the United States came before Congress there were many who claimed that the territory was not worth keeping. Finally Senator Benton of Missouri prevailed upon Congress to send an exploring party to find new routes to the Pacific and to estimate the worth of the country traversed. Fremont, who on October 19, 1841, had married Benton's daughter, Jessie, was selected to lead the expedition. The party started June 10, 1842, returning to St. Louis in October.

In May of the next year Fremont started on his second expedition during which he went as far as Sutter's ranch in California, returning in July, 1844.

His third expedition, begun in 1845, again took him to California, where he had his dispute with General Kearney, was court-martialed, and resigned from the army.

In 1848 he financed his fourth trip to the West. Writing to his wife he said: "My road will take me down the Del Norte, about 160 miles below Albuquerque, and then passes between this river and the heads of the Gila, to a little Mexican town called, I think, 'Tucson.'" It was while on this expedition that he made his first entrance into Arizona, of which he writes:

In the course of a winter exploration into the Rocky Mountains in winter of 1848-49 I had been driven southward by stress of weather, and in the spring of the latter year I passed through Arizona. I had gone as far south as the little town of San Pedro, which still was within Mexico. Returning northward down the San Pedro River we passed on

the way an abandoned Mission where there was an extensive peach orchard in solitary bloom. The soft pink bloom was startling where the ideas of the place spoke only now of violence and bloodshed. There were large buildings here, and the situation in the river valley was beautiful, but the Apaches had made it too dangerous to live in isolated places.

We followed the river down until it spread out where it entered the plain and lost itself in the ground. At the foot of a steep hill we found grass and water, and the next morning continued our journey in a northwesterly direction and struck the Gila near the villages of the Pimas and Maricopas above the Great Bend of the river. I found these Indians still retaining the civilization that had been taught them by the missionary priests and living on farms in fixed habitations. They raised wheat and corn, watermelons, beans and other vegetables, and grew cotton out of which they made blankets. They lived undisturbed, having no other enemy than the wild Apaches, who seldom dared molest them, and they were friendly to the Mexican or other travelers who at rare intervals passed that way on their road to the Californias. They received me in a truly friendly and hospitable way, supplying in exchange for a few trifling articles all the provisions that I required. What they particularly valued was a small opaque white bead, of which we had a quantity.

In 1879, while Governor of Arizona, I was traveling between Phoenix and Maricopa, which is on the line of the Southern Pacific Railway, and again passed by these villages. Our Government has covered the ground they occupied by a reservation.

When California was admitted to the Union, Fremont served the state in the United States Senate in the sessions of 1850-51, but because of his antislavery sentiments he was not re-elected by the California legislature.

In 1852 he and his family visited Europe spending most of the time in Paris. In August, 1853, he started on his fifth and last expedition, covering practically the same route he had taken on his fourth. Returning from this exploring trip Fremont moved in 1855 with his family to New York City where he established his residence.

At the first Republican national convention which met at Philadelphia in June, 1856, because of his well-known opposition to slavery and because at the moment he was the popular hero, Fremont became the new party's candidate for the presidency. During the strenuous campaign the slogan was: "Free speech, free press, free soil, Fre-mont and vic-

tory." He polled 1,341,264 votes and carried eleven states but lost the election to Buchanan.

Although born in the South Fremont was opposed to slavery and in favor of preserving the Union. Therefore, at the beginning of the Civil War he offered his services to the government and on May 14, 1861, President Lincoln appointed him a major general in command of the Western Division, with headquarters at St. Louis. He assumed command July 26 and without authority issued a proclamation freeing the slaves of his district. The order was not confirmed, and he was relieved of his position. He was then placed in command in West Virginia where he was outgeneraled by Stonewall Jackson. When General Pope was given command of the forces adjacent to Washington, Fremont resigned his commission and took no further active part in the war.

Fremont's natural impetuosity led him to become dissatisfied with the slow progress of the Civil War. Sharing the views of those who blamed Lincoln because the war was not terminated sooner, he accepted the nomination for presidency at a convention of radical Republicans who met at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1864. Later he reconsidered the matter and withdrew from the race. His personal ambitions and his loyalty to his country conflicted, but his loyalty triumphed. Perhaps the certainty of defeat influenced his decision.

Following the Civil War he became interested in promoting railroads. His ambitious imagination saw lines traversing the northern and southern portions of the United States with connecting lines extending far into Mexico. In 1867 he was president of the original Atlantic & Pacific Railway Company which later became the Santa Fe system through Arizona. In connection with his numerous schemes for promoting railways he interested French capitalists and by some of them was charged with irregularities. He was tried while absent, found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine and imprisonment, but being in America the penalty could not be enforced.

Fremont's financial schemes often brought him great and sudden wealth, which he would as rapidly dissipate. Then he would try something else, make money, and again lose it. This kept him either in the enjoyment of luxury or in the distress of poverty. In 1878 he was in one of his frequent stages of poverty so turned his attention from finances to statesmanship. Desiring to secure the salary of \$2,000, he interceded with his friends to secure for him the governorship of the territory of Arizona. Zachariah Chandler and others influenced President Hayes to appoint him to the position. He began his duties on June 12, 1878, and served until March 8, 1882.

The governor and his family were cordially received by the people of Prescott, who furnished at their own expense a cottage on the site of the present city library. Though graciously received and given the honors due his position, Fremont considered that he was too important for his position and soon drew upon himself the contempt of those who endeavored to help him.

Because of his natural inclination to speculate and of old debts which followed him to Arizona, he became involved in numerous mining schemes and was charged with using his office to promote his own private interests. McClintock says that "it soon was told that, though testy in manner, he could be swayed easily and that a trio of Prescott lawyers had much to do in the direction of his attitude toward legislation and general administration work."¹

Fremont had been governor about six months when the Tenth Legislature convened at Prescott (Jan. 6, 1879). In his message he referred to the prosperity of the territory because of the railroad about to enter it. He stressed the value of the mines and suggested that the government aid in developing them. He urged the necessity of good roads and advised the expenditure of half a million dollars for their construction.

This legislature set the precedent of supplying its members with numerous newspapers. It changed the surnames

¹ J. H. McClintock, *Arizona, The Youngest State*.

of eight individuals, divorced seventeen couples, increased the number of legislative members, created Apache County, and licensed gambling.

The most conspicuous piece of legislation, however, was the authorization of the Arizona Lottery. Ostensibly the object was to aid in the construction of capital buildings and in the support of the public schools. The following appeared in several newspapers:

ARIZONA LOTTERY
under the direction of
Governor J. C. Fremont
Territorial Commissioner
Michael Goldwater, President
Bank of Arizona, Treasurer

In accordance with an act of the Legislative Assembly of Arizona Territory, and the proclamation of the Governor issued thereunder, a

LOTTERY
WILL BE DRAWN AT PRESCOTT, A. T.

On Wednesday, June 4th, 1879

The first LOTTERY under the foregoing law, will be drawn at the Theatre, in Prescott, on June 4th, 1879, or sooner if the tickets are disposed of, on which occasion there will be distributed \$31,250, in 282 prizes.

It appears the U. S. mail soon refused to carry this advertisement, and the promoters of the lottery postponed the drawing from time to time. Finally Congress decided that Arizona should raise its revenue by some other method, and the lottery came to naught.

The Eleventh Legislature was the last during Fremont's term. It convened at Prescott, January 3, 1881, with twelve members in the Council and twenty-four in the House.

In his message, Governor Fremont again congratulated the territory upon the approach of the railroad. He recommended that the granting of divorces be left to the courts, that Congress be asked to aid in developing the water supply, that "accredited information concerning the resources of the Territory" be given by the legislature, that investment in mining be encouraged and "that no taxes be levied upon mining products," and that intercourse with Mexico

be made as easy as possible. He closed with the statement that "we may fairly assume that the territory of Arizona is assured."

The Eleventh Legislature passed 103 bills, one of which created the counties of Cochise, Gila, and Graham, another repealed the lottery law, and the bullion tax law, and a third authorized the incorporation of Tombstone, Phoenix, and Prescott. This legislature also appropriated \$2,000 to gather information regarding the resources of Arizona and appointed Patrick Hamilton as commissioner to compile this data; the result of this work was a book containing valuable information.

Much of the time that Fremont drew his salary as governor of Arizona he spent in the East, ostensibly in the interests of the territory. This, together with his manifest dislike for the smallness of his job, caused the citizens to become impatient. In October, 1881, Secretary of the Territory John J. Gosper wrote to the Secretary of the Interior recommending that the regularly appointed governor of this territory be required to return to his post of duty or be asked to step aside and permit some other gentleman to take his place.

Secretary Gosper wrote also of the feeling in Arizona against carpetbag officials. John G. Campbell, delegate to Congress, corroborated the statement of Gosper that Fremont was decidedly unpopular in Arizona. Before long Fremont was given the opportunity of attending to the business of governing Arizona or of resigning; he decided to resign.

Allen Nevins, Fremont's biographer, gives another reason for Fremont's resignation. He states that the salary of \$2,000 a year was not sufficient to maintain the governor's family. Expenses were "atrociously high" at Prescott and the salary low. Even the desire of Mrs. Fremont and her daughter to visit the Grand Canyon could not be gratified because of their poverty.

During considerable of the last year of Fremont's incumbency Gosper was virtually governor, and from the time of Fremont's resignation until his successor took the oath

Gosper was acting governor. Fremont received the salary and the honor, Gosper did the work.

Nevins says that Fremont "hopeful of re-establishing himself in business" resigned the governorship of Arizona. But he says nothing about Fremont's neglect of his duties and the demand for his resignation. Nevins further says:

One undertaking which floated elusively before him was the plan for enlisting the Barings and other English capitalists in the development, by irrigation, of the rich Imperial Valley in California. While in Arizona he had become interested with Judge Charles Silent, in various mining enterprises, notably in the rich copper section now known as the Verde—enterprises which ultimately made Judge Silent rich. He was as eager and hopeful as ever. He believed that fortune always lay just ahead. But of actual monetary returns, there was pitifully little.

Fremont's business adventures usually turned out that way. His financial vision seems to have been blurred. An example is his writing of *Memories of My Life* in 1887. The sale of the first volume was so light that the second was never published.

Late in 1887 he and Mrs. Fremont went to California to live. The general, however, returned to New York in 1889 where he died July 13 of the same year, three months after Congress had placed him on the retired list with the rank of major general and with an annual pension of \$6,000. His funeral was held from St. Ignatius Episcopal Church. The pallbearers were Generals Sherman and Howard, Col. Floyd Clarkson, and four representatives of the Pioneer Association of California. The president ordered the flags to be hung at half mast. Mrs. Fremont came from California for the funeral. When Mrs. Fremont died, December 27, 1902, she was buried beside her husband at Piermont on the Hudson. In 1906 the state of New York erected a monument over their graves.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR GOODWIN, 1864*

By HERMAN EHRENBERG

La Paz the 4th February 1864.

To His Excellency

Governor Goodwin of Arizona.

Sir

I take the liberty of forwarding by Mr. Gray, of the firm of Gray & Co., of this place a rough tracing of my hasty survey of a wagon route from La Paz to the Weaver Mines. I would have liked to have made a better sketch but had no time to do it myself, and the gentlemen whom I engaged for that purpose, is in the same predicament and busy with the survey of the town itself. The party with Mr. Gray goes out without guide, and the road not being properly opened yet, it is more than doubtful that they will travel along the precise and true route as laid off by myself. Still they will be able to judge sufficiently near of the nature of the country they travel over, that no better roads exist any where in the world, for such a distance. To make the road valuable and available for extensive travel some money must be expended in opening more watering places than are now found on the route; we have now a few men out to improve those found by us, which will open the road for transportation. But more should be expended to make a first class road of it.

Mr. Gray will give you full particulars and as I do not suppose that his party will go as they should; their version will require some modification in the details, favorable to the route. The route to Walkers and Fort Whipple will not go to Weaver, but at a point of Mts., called Canon Water by us, and 75 miles from La Paz it will turn off in a more northerly direction, either by Rhodes Ranch—Date creek, or at a point between the two—thence I am told an excellent road exists (by Mr. Tadman now at Weavers Mines). At Canon Water the road will also turn off for Tucson striking the Weaver wagon route about 25 or 30 miles south of that place.

I estimate the distances from La Paz as follows

To Los Angeles	250 miles
To Canon Water	75 miles
To Weavers	110 miles
To Walkers	130 miles

* Copy of letter on file in the office of the Secretary of State addressed to Governor Goodwin of Arizona. The letter is in longhand and written in ink on double-size foolscap paper.

To Tucson	250 miles
To Albuquerque	550 miles

Not by the part of the San Francisco Mts. but of a more direct line, crossing the Rio Verde, San Francisco near the 34th parallel and striking over to the Little Colorado.

To Fort Yuma	110 miles
Williams Mts.	50 miles
Fort Mohave	140 miles

I think all attempts in reaching the Colorado higher up than La Paz with wagons, will prove a failure for all practical purposes [there] being two intervening mountain ranges and other obstacles; and last [but] not least that the *permanent* head of navigation is in reality the town of La Paz. At a higher stage of the river boats will ascend the river for at least 200 miles more and undoubtedly [*sic.*] enter a good mining section.

We may be mistaken in regard to the water, and the quantity on the route, but if this should be the case, I should leave the San Francisco region for others to develop and go south into Arizona instead, as it will be extremely difficult to make mining profitable unless *this route is available* and I am *Positive* there exists *no other* that will answer our expectations and necessities.

I consider this route of such high importance that half a dozen failures in wells should they occur, should not cause it to be abandoned, the success of the country and this wagon route are identical, one and the same thing, if one fails the other will have a miserable existence.

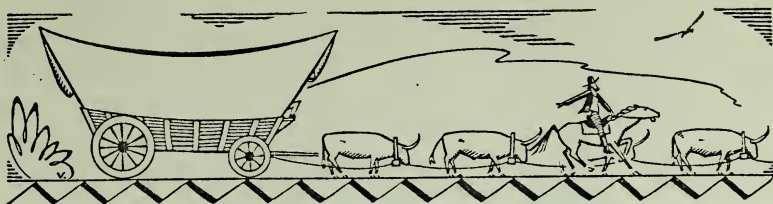
I am an Engineer (Civil and Mining) formerly of the Heintzelman Mine, Arizona, one of the originators of the Company in 1856, and have temporarily accepted the Indian Agency on the Colorado and refer to Mr. Poston the Superintendent also to General Carrolton with whom I have the honor personally to be known.

I expect no profit from the route, other than to see the country developed and opened. I take more of a scientific than pecuniary interest in the matter. I have already expended 11 years of my life in mapping Arizona and Sonora and in developing its mineral wealth, and desire Apacheria unfolded and my task is completed. I shall leave.

As far as regards the Mineral resources of your section, I have great faith, although I have as yet had but little time to investigate them, but the general formation of the mountain ranges, their massive character, great veins with minerals and the *elements necessary to work them* and the general geographical positions of the section and other reasons force me to this belief. I shall leave La Paz in a week or so and if I do not go to Sonora on business I shall have the honor of presenting (?) myself. An officer arrived here last night on his way to California his Lieut. will return the new route in a few days.

I have the honor to be very respectfully

(Signed) Herman Ehrenberg.



As Told by the Pioneers

MRS. H. T. (ROSA) FIRTH

LETTER TO MRS. ROSS, MARCH 3, 1935

. . . Your note reached me the day the newspapers reported the turning in of water on "Hoover Dam," the East was covered with a blanket of deep snow, and it takes a vivid imagination to turn back to August, 1889, when I first reached dry, parched Arizona.

We lived for about three years in Dos Cabezas, Cochise County, and I recall a trip from Dos Cabezas to Tombstone which can be made now-a-days by automobile in a few hours. We left Dos Cabezas on Saturday morning, traveling by stage a distance of fifteen miles to Willcox, where we had to remain until midnight to take the Southern Pacific train for Benson, where my husband and I remained until 2 a. m., taking a branch road to Charleston and from there an old-fashioned Concord stage to Tombstone. It was nearly noon when we reached Tombstone. Here I saw for the first time 20-mule teams transporting the ore to the mill, and it was quite a sight to see these 20-mule teams, the driver wielding his whip so dexterously, and the swamper with his supply of rocks urging them on their way.

During the school year I boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Scoro, and then started housekeeping in a deserted building owned by S. R. DeLong, a member of the famous California Column of Aravaipa Indian massacre renown. Here in this house which was my home for nearly three years, my only child was born July 4, 1890, and here my first experience in a waterless home began.

During the first few years that we lived there the water supply was furnished by burros. Each burro had some contraption with iron hoops and carried on each side a keg holding ten gallons of water, twenty gallons in all, and they packed about five burros, and made at an average three trips a day. There were no bathrooms nor showers possible, and this was the era of the Saturday night wash-tub bath in the kitchen. I was fortunate enough to fix up a little washroom, and had a homemade cold shower which was all right for the hot summer days.

Later on we discarded the burros and barrels, and hauled water by team. A wagon with a 250-gallon tank. We had the water piped into the kitchen and it looked a little more civilized.

When I look back the way we managed without an adequate water supply I feel surprised of the devious ways we did it.

The yard, quite a large one, was blasted on a side hill, and the soil had to be hauled. We had flowers, vines and trees, in fact, strangers could scarcely believe how we managed.

When in 1925 the Grand Central M. Co. took over the Aravaipa M. Co's. property we had plenty of water for about 18 months, but when they shut down in 1927 the old trouble started again. There were no more horses, there was no truck for the water tank, and we got our water supply by parcel post, that is, the mail contractor hauled two fifty-gallon tanks of water, three times a week from a ranch in the canyon.

Nobody coming to our home for the first time could have imagined the scarcity of water, as we had hot and cold water and a bathroom, and we had managed to have apricot, peach, and apple trees; we had Virginia creepers and Trumpet vines covering the house and had managed to raise quite a variety of perennials, such as roses, violets, Shasta daisies, and chrysanthemums, using every drop of available waste water. . . .



The Last Frontier

MRS. ANDREW ANDERSON, 78; d Virden, N. M., Apr. 24; b Utah, July 22, 1857; to Little Colorado River, Feb. 1876; later to Pima; bur N. M.

WILLIAM ASHURST, 59; d Flagstaff, May 29; b Williams, Ariz., Dec. 25, 1876; teacher NASTC; bur Flagstaff.

CHARLES BLENMAN, 76; d Tucson, May 8; b Devonshire, Eng.; to Tucson May 5, 1891; attorney.

EDWARD BROWN, 75; d Phoenix, May 13; to Phoenix, 1884; contractor and builder; bur Phoenix.

MRS. ROSETTA LEVY BROWN, 73, d Los Angeles, Apr.; b New Zealand; to Duncan Valley, 1878, later Buckeye and Phoenix; bur Phoenix.

MRS. THURZA BERRY BROWN, 70; d St. Johns, Mch. 16; b Long Valley, Utah, Apr. 1, 1865; to St. Johns, 1888; bur St. Johns.

JAMES A. CAMERON, 87; d near Wickenburg, Mch. 26; b Missouri; to Walnut Grove, 1876; bur Wickenburg; cattleman.

JAMES A. CASHION, 77; d Los Angeles, Mch. 19; b Kansas; to Ariz. in 1880's; bur Los Angeles; railroad builder, contractor,

real estate operator, cattleman, founder of Cashion, Ariz.

CAPTAIN COFFEE, 113; d Ft. McDowell, May 22; b in Ariz., bur Ft. McDowell; Mohave Apache Indian scout.

MRS. LOUISA GOULD-BRANSEN CROSS, 85; d Snowflake, Mch. 24; b Askers Precinct, Norway, Nov. 27, 1850; to Navajo County, 1885; bur Snowflake.

MRS. CARMEN O. DANIEL, 77; d Yuma, Mch. 16; b Mexico; to Yuma, 1883; bur Yuma.

WILLIAM H. DAGG, 71; d San Diego, Apr. 10; b Birmingham, Ala.; to Winslow, 1887; bur San Diego; merchant.

ANDREW JACKSON DICKERSON, 72; d Prescott, Mch. 18; b Springfield, Ill. Sept. 10, 1863; to Phoenix, 1883, Tombstone, 1897, and Yavapai county; bur Prescott; miner.

MRS. ANITA EGURROLA, 102; d Tucson, Apr. 13; b Altar, Son., Mex., 1834; to Calif., 1849, to Tucson, 1856; bur Tucson; Tucson's oldest and sole centenarian mother.

MRS. ERNESTINE SORG EMANUEL, 76; d Prescott, May 8; b Paris, France, Mch. 28, 1860; to Prescott, 1878; bur Prescott.

MRS. MARY EMILY CATHERINE ANDREWS EZELL, 80; d Payson, Mch. 19; b Missouri; to Payson, 1888; bur Payson.

WILLIAM C. FARISH, 65; d Los Angeles, Apr. 29; b San Francisco; to Tombstone, 1884, Phoenix, 1886; engineer, surveyor, Apache Trail, Roosevelt Dam, first city manager, Phoenix.

IRA H. FRANKENBERG, 66; d Tempe, Mch. 26; b Illinois; to

Tempe, 1888; bur Tempe; rancher.

ELIJAH NORMAN FREEMAN, 90; d Salt Lake City, Mch. 21; to St. Johns, 1881; bur Salt Lake City; Mormon churchman.

MRS. KATHERINA McLANE FULLER, 86; d Wheatfields, near Globe, Apr. 20; b Freidburg, Germany, Oct. 11, 1849; to Gila County, 1880; bur Globe.

S. W. GRANT, 88; d Tucson, Mch. 8; b Bangor, Maine, 1848; to Ft. Bowie, 1874, to Tucson, 1876; bur Tucson; soldier, stage driver, hotelman.

FRANK N. HALE, 80; d Ajo, May 19; to Ariz. 1876; bur Ajo; boilermaker.

MRS. BARBARA MILLS HAWS, 99; d Pima, Mch. 30; b Canada, July 1, 1836; to Showlow, 1879, to Pima, 1883; bur Pima.

REV. FRAZIER S. HERN-
DON, 72; d Tucson, Apr. 6; b Kansas; to Tucson 1894; bur Tucson; Presbyterian missionary to the Indians.

GEORGE W. HOLLAND, 79; d Bisbee, Mch. 24; b Nashville, Tenn., Mch. 7, 1857; to Ft. Thomas, 1894; bur Tombstone; rancher.

JOE KAUSE, 73; d Kingman, Mch. 31; b Socha, Austria; to Cedar, Ariz., 1894; bur Kingman; mining.

MRS. SYLVIA LILLYWHITE, 65; d Nogales, Mch. 20; b Virginia City, Utah; to Bisbee 1886; bur Bisbee.

MRS. SARA McDONALD, 75; d Buckeye, Mch. 24; b St. Helena, Calif., Dec. 6, 1860; to Payson, 1881, Buckeye, 1891; bur Liberty.

ALEXANDER D. McINTOSH, 88; d Prescott, May 8; b Taylor County, Va., June 1, 1847; to St. Johns, 1879; bur Prescott; farmer.

MRS. ELLEN FRANCES MARABLE, 68; d Yuma, Mch. 13; b Chillicothe, O., Oct. 4, 1867; to Palomas, 1888; bur Yuma.

SAMUEL BENDER PEMBERTON, 72; d Chino Valley, May 21; b Bolivar, Mo., May 13, 1864; to Prescott, 1875; rancher.

JESSE N. PERKINS, 82; d Taylor, Apr. 28; to Mesa, 1878, Taylor, 1879; bur Taylor; rancher.

MRS. HATTIE RODGERS, 77; d Prescott, May 2; b Bridgeton, N. J., Aug. 10, 1859; to Camp Verde, 1884; bur Prescott.

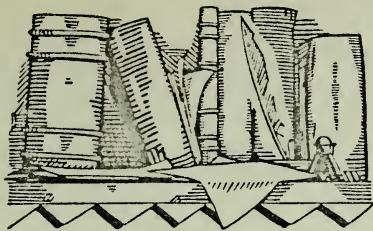
ERNEST MARION ROSE, 73; d Los Angeles, Mch. 21; b Birmingham, Mich., Dec. 1, 1862; to Tombstone early 1880's; bur Sawtelle, Calif.; ex-Texas Ranger, Indian fighter, machinist.

JAMES S. RUSSELL, 89; d Skull Valley, Apr. 27; b Indiana; to Skull Valley, 1872; bur Skull Valley; rancher.

MRS. ELIZABETH THOMPSON, 83; d Prescott, Mch. 6; b Lexington, Ky., July 8, 1853; to Prescott, 1875; bur Prescott.

FRANK P. TROTT, 82; d Phoenix, May 2; b McMinnville, Tenn.; to Salt River Valley, 1881; bur Phoenix; civil engineer, U. S. surveyor general for Arizona, Salt River Valley and Arizona water commissioner.

MRS. MANUELA VALEN-
ZUELA, 86; d Florence, Apr. 24; b Sonora, Mex., 1850; to Florence 1866; bur Florence.



Book Reviews

THE LIBERAL TRADITION. By Lewis W. Douglas. D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1935. \$1.50.

Originally delivered as four lectures at Harvard University, the *Liberal Tradition* is a frank analysis of the trend of our government. Mr. Douglas is frightened at the tendency toward dictatorship and wants to apply the brakes. As a representative of the Woodrow Wilson progressive school, he advocates trust busting, a lowering of trade barriers, a balanced budget: in short, the establishment of a system of free competition. He believes that government aid to business in the past has inevitably led to a false bubble prosperity. Business should have been allowed to adjust itself to conditions through the media of free competition and an unhampered law of supply and demand.

The former Director of the Budget sees that an unbalanced budget and the resultant inflation must lead to more and more government regulation until in the end America will have unlimited federal control. This trend, Mr. Douglas thinks, is so real and of such immediate importance that

"we Americans should begin to think and think carefully on the general subject of the kind of social and economic system under which we want to live, that we should decide whether we are willing consciously to discard the basic principles of freedom on which this country was built, . . . whether mankind will be happier by throwing these principles overboard, or by insisting on the performance of those acts which again must make them vital living things. This is the basic question. We cannot long ignore it."

The former congressman from Arizona remembers his practical legislative experience and is dubious that a plan such as he proposes is possible of adoption. He admits, for example, that when in Congress he voted for a copper tariff because the entire state of Arizona "had been worked up to a fever pitch in advocacy of it." Mr. Douglas sees that the power of vested interests—those benefited by the New Deal—is great. How are we to combat that power?

The *Liberal Tradition* presents clearly and concretely the objections of the Douglas school to the administration's economics. It has its place in this year's presidential campaign because of its intelligent discussion of issues which are sure to arise.

ARCUS REDDOCH.

PRATT. THE RED MAN'S MOSES. By Elaine Goodale Eastman. 285 pp. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935.

A timely and authoritative book dealing with the life and struggles of the man who fought for Indian

education and who founded and developed the Carlisle Indian School, but a book which is, as the author says, much less a chronicle of events in the life of General Richard Henry Pratt than it is a history of a cause which Pratt initiated and with which he identified himself from the close of the Civil War until his death in 1924. It is refreshing to find in the long, tangled history of Indian administration or misadministration one man who had a policy. That policy, based on long and close contact with Indians on and off reservations was one of nonsegregation, nonreservation, nonpreservation of Indian life, noneverything almost that has been and is the policy of the Indian Bureau. Let the Indian quit being an Indian, a curio, an outsider; let him, instead, by active participation become a useful member of the more powerful and materially advanced civilization which has enveloped him.

Incidental to Pratt's stand on the Indian question, the book reviews and discusses many of the fundamental problems of Indian administration and policy: land allotment versus reservations; Canadian versus United States policy on Indian land matters; day schools versus boarding schools; the shortcomings of missionary activities; and is brought up to date in many places by numerous comparisons with the present policy of Mr. Collier and the Indian Bureau.

The book suffers somewhat in readability because of numerous quotations, reports of conferences, excerpts from letters, which fre-

quently interrupt the presentation of a genetically smooth narrative. Despite this, it is decidedly not a scrap book, and can be read with interest and profit by all who are concerned with Indian history, Indian administration, and Indian acculturation.

JOHN H. PROVINSE.

MY HOUSE OF DREAMS. By Mabel C. Kimball. Published by Clifford Cassidy, Los Angeles. \$1.00.

Arizona poetry too frequently bears the stamp of the tourist who meticulously records the colors of our sunsets and, aided by a hastily-consulted botany text, gives an imposing catalogue of desert plants. Mrs. Kimball, at home in Arizona, writes of the Joshua tree, ocotillo, sahuaro, and yucca with the same natural simplicity and spontaneous affection that characterize her treatment of petunias and maples. She is not only at home but at peace. "Altars iridescent" of the mountains and a desert road leading "To that far rim where earth meets sky" symbolize this peace. Religious faith pervades the book in passages such as: "That we are God's, and God is true, and nothing dies."

The poems are various in form, including cinquains, sonnets, and many lyrics which, though frequently irregular, show the author's innate sense of rhythm. "Olivera Street" is particularly colorful and musical.

IRENE TAYLOR HERRICK.



Among the Authors

BERT HASKETT is field representative of the Bureau of Animal Industry on sheep scabies eradication work. He has been connected with this work for years in Arizona and is thoroughly acquainted with the sheep industry.

JOHN TABER ALSAP was born in Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1832. He graduated from the New York College of Medicine and practiced for some years in California in conjunction with mining and prospecting. He came to Prescott, Arizona, in 1863 and practiced law. He was appointed first territorial treasurer and served in the third and fifth territorial legislatures. He moved to the Salt River Valley in 1869 and helped to organize Maricopa County, where he served as first probate judge. In 1886 he was nominated for county treasurer but died September 16 of that year before the election.

LUCILE ANDERSON is a graduate of Hastings College, Nebraska, and received the M.A. degree in 1934 at the University of Arizona. While doing graduate work she made a special study of north and south railroad lines in the state.

ANDREW HAYS CARGILL was born in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1844. He was educated in the University of New York and served in the Confederate Army in Texas in 1868. He was employed by Hooper, Whiting and Co., merchants of San Francisco, and was transferred in 1869 to Yuma. He later served as aid on Gov. A. P. K. Safford's staff. In 1872 he returned to New York and secured a seat on the Stock Exchange, but having failed in business, he returned to Arizona in 1878 where he lived practically until his death on December 8, 1920.

HERMAN EHRENBURG, a native of Germany, came to America at an early age. He fought for Texas independence and also with Colonel Fremont in California. He was one of the organizers in 1856 of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company which operated near Cerro Colorado, in what is now Santa Cruz County. One of the earliest settlers in La Paz, on the Colorado, he gave his name to the town of Ehrenberg, also on the Colorado. The first map of the Gadsden Purchase was made by Ehrenberg. He operated the Harcuvar Copper Mines as well as other mines on the direct road from La Paz to Weaver, which road was called the Ehrenberg Road because he was the first to call attention to its great advantages. He was murdered at Dos Palmas in 1866 while crossing the Mohave Desert with \$3,500 supposedly on his person.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA BULLETINS

BARNES, WILL C.

Arizona Place Names. 1935. 503 pp. 3 maps. (General Bulletin No. 2)..... \$1.50

The origin and historic data associated with Arizona place names.

CLARKE, ELEANOR P.

Designs on the Prehistoric Pottery of Arizona. 1935. 76 pp. 38 illus. (22 in color), 3 maps. (Social Science Bulletin No. 9)..... 1.00

The development of pottery among ancient Arizonans, tracing to their beginnings patterns used and analyzing the different elements comprising the designs.

CUMMINGS, BYRON

Cuicuilco and the Archaic Culture of Mexico. 1933. 55 pp. 35 illus., plan. (Social Science Bulletin No. 4)..... .25

A scientifically accurate picture of a flourishing culture which antedated the Aztecs is reconstructed from the architecture and artifacts of the temple of Cuicuilco.

HUBBARD, HOWARD A.

A Chapter in Early Arizona Transportation History; the Arizona Narrow Gauge Railroad Company. 1934. 64 pp. front., 3 illus., map. (Social Science Bulletin No. 6)..... .25

A history of a road projected to run from Tucson to Globe in the eighties, with a detailed account of its intricate financial aftermath.

LOCKETT, HATTIE GREENE

The Unwritten Literature of the Hopi. 1933. 102 pp. 15 illus. (Social Science Bulletin No. 2.)..... .15

A brief survey of present-day Hopi culture in Arizona and an examination into the myths and traditions constituting the unwritten literature of the Hopi.

LOCKWOOD, FRANK C.

With Padre Kino on the Trail. 1934. 142 pp. 23 illus. map. (Social Science Bulletin No. 5)..... .50

A vigorous account of the work of this Seventeenth Century Jesuit priest who established the famous Kino chain of missions in Sonora and southern Arizona.

SPICER, E. H. AND CAYWOOD, L. P.

Two Pueblo Ruins in West Central Arizona. 1936. 115 pp. 74 illus., 4 plans, 4 maps. (Social Science Bulletin No. 10)..... .50

Report of excavations at King's and Fitzmaurice ruins. An attempt to clarify the place in southwestern prehistory of the people who produced Prescott Black-on-gray pottery.

WILLSON, CLAIR EUGENE

Mimes and Miners; a Historical Study of the Theater in Tombstone. 1935. 207 pp. 4 illus. (Fine Arts Bulletin No. 1)..... 1.00

A colorful account of the actors and the plays which furnished entertainment in this historic mining camp.

Address orders to the Librarian, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

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